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Washington's Visit to  
The First Cotton Mill.  
October 30, 1789.

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VOLUME XXXIII.

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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS  
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THE FIRST COTTON MILL IN AMERICA.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE BEVERLY HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY, AT THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIFTH  
ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE TOWN.

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BY ROBERT S. RANTOUL.

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MY FRIENDS:—On the way through life, associations of one kind and another bind us to many scenes and places. But there is, amongst them all, a single spot which possesses to the end a unique and lasting charm. Wander as we may, there is but one birthplace. The scenes amidst which the world once burst upon us, as though it were for us a new creation, have an enduring hold upon the memory and the heart, which no after experience can impair,—which no later growth of home affection can wholly dispel.

Communities have their birthplaces and their birthdays, as well as men. This ancient town commemorat-

ing to-day, and wisely commemorating, the natal morning of her corporate existence, rejoicing in two centuries and a quarter of honorable achievement, satisfied as she has a right to be with her past, grandly hopeful as she has a right to be of her future,—this ancient town, the beneficent mother of thousands who have gone out to do her honor by their success, of thousands who have remained to do her reverence by their devotion, does well, does she not? to gather her sons and daughters, from far and near, under her wing to-day, and to bid them at least once in a quarter-century of her life to rejoice with her in the occasion and the hour.

The day is auspicious. With the advent of the Indian Summer, with the close of a season of beauty never exceeded in all the lovely seasons chronicled in the annals of this beautiful region,—a season of rare sequences of ripening sheen and freshening shower,—meadows never greener, skies never brighter, foliage never richer, old ocean never grander, more majestic, more entrancing, amidst all these surroundings, we are bidden together by a newly formed society to enjoy with them the bright outlook of their anticipations, and to inaugurate with them a thorough husbandry of the rich fields opening all about us for the study of local antiquities and tradition.

Historical societies are not created at a stroke. They spring up in the mould of an ancient soil. They grow out of the tastes and natural requirements of old and cultured communities. They can only spring and thrive where the soil is mellow with years and with the rich possibilities of antiquarian productiveness. But they cannot subsist even in a soil like this, except there be living on it a broad-minded, active, public-spirited, enthusiastic generation of men—no strangers to the delights of antiquarian delving—who have leisure and

means and training enough to bring to the surface whatever the soil holds hidden beneath, which the past ought to render up in the interest of the present and the future.

Rarely has a historical society set out upon its work under auspices more cheering. Entering upon a field not wholly untrod, but explored far enough to demonstrate its quality, whose surface gleaning, while enough to stimulate expectation, has neither exhausted nor forestalled its normal yield,—your young society finds itself—the favorite of fortune—housed in a local habitation of its own without effort or delay; with a working corps of expert antiquarians ready to its needs; girt about with a community keenly alive to the value and interest attaching to a knowledge of its past. Surrounded with such conditions there can be no failure.

Towns have their birthplaces and their birthdays. The day you select for this commemoration serves well enough as the birthday of Beverly. It is true that a practical separation had been decreed much earlier between this settlement and the parent town; for Bass River Side had a meeting-house of its own in 1654, a Congregational organization in 1649, and had procured the exemption of the Mackerel Cove village from guard duty in 1647.

In 1659, boundaries had been agreed upon for the separation of the settlement. In 1665, Bass River chose her own selectmen, levied her own taxes, cared for her own poor and became practically independent. But it was not until the 14th of October, 1668, that the action of the legislature finally put the seal of law upon the ambition of the town, and gave it complete autonomy; although even then the boundary towards Salem Village, towards Manchester and towards Wenham continued in dispute, and was only settled finally in 1735.



Turning aside from these fruitless but inevitable disputes, let us devote a moment to the mooted question, Where was the actual birthplace of this old community? Various theories have been urged, with greater or less assurance. The improved condition of the indexes, both in the Registry of Deeds and in the Probate Office of the county, makes it possible now to form an intelligent and trustworthy conclusion. With deference to earlier investigators, I am inclined to think that the first considerable village gathered on this side of the stream, which the records call "the place where the old planters do move for," will be found near the head of Bass River. The first settlers came here for farming. Salem had been settled in 1626; the first group of houses near what is now Town House Square. Water was their means of conveyance. The landing they used in Salem was at the rear of the present court houses where stood the "fayre house" of Governor Endecott. From this point they pushed out for farming and grazing land. Before 1628 they were pasturing cattle at Bass River head. To this point they found a direct, land-locked waterway, well protected in all weathers, and no tillage land equally attractive was more accessible. Bass River Side was long the name of the settlement they made. The five great farms set off to the five Fathers of the Colony were here, and although there was a ferry between Salem and the Cape Ann side about as early, and a road leading to the Merri-mac laid out by the State in 1639, and a way to Manchester in 1646, the center of population was so far north in 1648 that the legislature was asked to establish a highway and landing at Draper's Point.

The first church has long been the South Church—south of other churches—for many decades south of the bulk of its congregation. No other church was built so

far south until 1836. The second church in 1713 and another church in 1834 were both gathered near Bass River head and there a well-known public house maintained itself. The First Baptist Church in 1801, and the Third Congregational Church in 1803, both erected houses of worship north of the present center of population and trade. Many of the oldest houses which have disappeared in my day,—many of the oldest houses which are now standing, were built north of this center. The section known as "the City," the square known as "the Haymarket," were both well to the northward. It was only later, when commercial interests became dominant, that population, if I am correct, moved towards the harbor. The first settlers came here for farming; they had come to Salem in the expectation of a trade in fish and in beavers' skins and of a profit from the tobacco crop. In all these hopes they had been disappointed. The Endecott government imposed constraints which made them uneasy, and for the sake of peace they at once removed to the Bass River lands they had already occupied, and lived by farming. I hazard the conjecture that Roger Conant's homestead, at the base of Chipman Hill, will be found to be the approximate center of an early settlement, and that such highways as the times demanded,— "ways which a man may travel on horse-back or drive cattle,"—some of which are still traceable, will be found to have radiated from that point towards the neighboring clusters of houses.

Besides birthdays and birthplaces towns have their christenings, and I should like, if there were time, to state some reasons which make me think that the name Beverly was conferred by Major General Robert Sedgwick on this Bass River settlement, no inhabitant of which seems to have had any special interest in the Yorkshire Borough.



I know that General Sedgwick was at Dixie's tavern at the ferry landing, on his way back from the capture of Port Royal. He had presented a bell, found amongst the plunder of a friary, to the Bass River Meeting House, then building, and by way of recognition of that favor shown the town, he was asked in the hearing of Dixie and others to give it a name. I think he did so.<sup>1</sup>

I come now to invite your attention, in the few minutes which remain to me, to a more recent chapter in the history of your ancient town, and one upon which I trust myself to speak with considerably more assurance of the correctness of the views advanced. As Mayor of Salem I have been invited to enlist the coöperation of the city in a movement to commemorate the fact that, in October, 1790, at Pawtucket in Rhode Island, Samuel Slater established the first cotton mill in the country, and by that token became the founder of the cotton manufactures of America. It seemed to me that, as a son of Beverly, I owed it to myself and to the truth of history to examine the soundness of this claim, and to enquire what were the grounds upon which Essex County was challenged to resign this coveted distinction. If you will bear with me, I desire to put on record, as briefly as I may, the results of my research. The matter lends itself very naturally to this occasion, for the prime-mover and chief contributor in the Beverly cotton mill was the same John Cabot whose mansion-house is now the home of your society.

The legislature of Massachusetts had interested itself, in the years 1786, 1787—before the constitution of the United States had been adopted—in a series of efforts to introduce manufactures into this Commonwealth, and the usual expedients of prohibitory duties, Eastern land grants, lotteries and the like had been resorted to.

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<sup>1</sup> See Bulletin Essex Institute, Vol. xx, pp. 6-21.



England had made great advances, during our war of Independence, in the application of machinery.

Of course the production of cotton cloth by hand was nothing new. India and Egypt had used it for untold ages, and the Roman Emperors made tents and awnings of cotton duck before the Christian era. The first applications of machinery for weaving "the wool that grows on trees" in this country were purely experimental, and singularly enough were exactly coëval with the accidental introduction of cotton culture into the Southern states. Before this date the little cotton used here came from Barbadoes, Surinam, Pernambuco, Cayenne and those parts, and was mixed with linen or with sheep's wool and spun by hand. John Cabot and Dr. Fisher, his business agent and manager, in petitioning the state for aid as late as 1790, advanced amongst the grounds of their appeal that the raw material is procured from the West Indies, in exchange for fish, "the most valuable export," they said, "in possession of the state." My venerable kinsman, William Endicott, recalls the day when raw cotton was sold by the pound in Beverly shops, to be employed at home like sheep's wool and flax in domestic spinning and weaving. All sorts of crudities were at first attempted. Some adventurers would card and spin in a mill and weave at home. Some would card by machinery and spin and weave by hand. Some would make fabrics of cotton alone, some use cotton with a thread of wool or flax. Jeans were made of cotton with a linen warp, and jeans and corduroys were both made with the hand shuttle.

It was only the more sanguine who hoped to reach a perfected product of pure cotton made wholly by machinery. Indigo, a southern product, seems to have been the only dye-stuff, and South Carolina was still experiment-

ing doubtfully in cotton culture in 1788,—the very year in which Beverly was perfecting the manufacturing machinery which was to produce a finished fabric under a single roof. So these two great innovations were proceeding with equal pace—a combination of agricultural and mechanical forces destined to revolutionize the domestic habits of the country and almost to rend in twain the strongest government the world has ever known.

In October, 1786, the Hon. Richard Cranch, a Senator and brother-in-law of John Adams, with Mr. Bowdoin of the House, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts, and others, were a committee "to view any new-invented machines that are making within this commonwealth for the purpose of manufacturing sheep's and cotton wool, and to report what measures are proper for the legislature to take to encourage the same." They had no difficulty in discovering such machines, for models had been brought to Boston for the purpose and they reported, in November, a resolve which was passed granting two hundred pounds to enable the brothers Barr, two Scotch weavers and machinists, then at Bridgewater, to perfect the apparatus exhibited, and also a roping machine and such other contrivances as were necessary for "carding, roping and spinning of sheep's wool as well as cotton wool." The legislature in a body then inspected the machines, commended the public spirit of the inventors, allowed their account to the amount of one hundred and eighty-nine pounds and twelve shillings, purchased their models, and gave them, instead of the promised two hundred pounds, six tickets in the land-lottery of 1787.

In March, 1787, the state also granted twenty pounds more to encourage another Scotchman named Thomas Somers, of whom we shall hear more, said to have been a midshipman in the British navy, to perfect apparatus for carding and spinning cotton.



The activity of some Boston merchants had prompted Somers to revisit England in 1785-6, a period when Arkwright's patents afforded only a partial and insecure protection for his recent improvements, in the hope of bringing either machines or designs and models, for carding and spinning cotton, to America. These he succeeded in bringing to Boston and was rewarded by the legislature, as we have seen, for so doing.

The plan of government bounties was not a growth of this period. The general court was busy as early as 1640 in efforts to encourage the manufacture of linen and cotton. All idlers were required to work on wild hemp and flax to secure a better supply of clothing. The selectmen were ordered to see that the children of all families were taught to do the same. And they decreed a premium of three pence on the shilling on home products, a bounty of twenty-five per cent, which failed and was at once repealed, like many later efforts of the kind, because the public burdens were too great at the time to bear it. In 1645 the legislature began to encourage the importation and breeding of sheep, for the increase of woollen fabrics, as well as the sowing of flax and hemp, and established a state agency for the purchase of cotton at Barbadoes.

From 1648 to 1658 any commoner might keep sheep on his commons-rights, but no sheep could be exported nor any sheep under two years of age killed save for family use, and the dog that killed a sheep was hanged. These and similar orders were published in open market in Boston by tap of drum. A manual training school was set up in Boston in 1656 for the improvement of youth in the manufacturing art. All women, girls and boys were required by act of legislature to spin, and a draft was ordered, assessing the work upon families at a spinner or

a fraction of a spinner to each family according to numbers, and a spinner's quota was three pounds per week of linen, cotton or woollen yarn for thirty weeks in the year. Sheep's wool could not be exported. So the colony struggled on offering bounties and resisting importation and exportation, until, in the middle of the eighteenth century, the troubles with England gave a new stimulus to domestic enterprise, and non-importation was enforced by necessity rather than by legislation.

Such was the condition of things when the Beverly adventurers entered upon the scene. I must ask you, if you are interested in the vindication of our claim, to follow pretty closely the dates I have the honor to present. And by way of inducement I shall assure you that they are impregnable, and conclusive against Slater's claim to have introduced cotton spinning in America.

The biographies of Samuel Slater show that he first arrived in this country at New York, in November, 1789. Of course his establishing of cotton manufactures at Pawtucket must have been some months later than that. It is claimed that he established them there in October, 1790. The exact date at which his machinery began to work I find to be December 21, 1790, and I think no products of his mill were sold before the year 1791.

While I have not the slightest disposition to disparage the man or the glorious work he did, it is easy, and I think it is worth while to show, from contemporaneous proof, that when Slater first set foot in Pawtucket, the shopkeepers of Salem and Beverly were retailing over their counters the finished products of the first cotton mill in America.

I find at the Registry of Deeds that, on the 18th day of August, 1788, for the consideration of eighty pounds and five shillings lawful money, Josiah Batchelder, Esq., and Hannah, his wife, conveyed to John Cabot, merchant,

and Joshua Fisher, physician, all being of Beverly, certain premises comprising five or six acres of land lying on "the road from Mr. Oliver's meeting house to Beverly Ferry." Ten years later this estate, with certain buildings thereon standing, was deeded by Cabot and Fisher to Samuel Blanchard, and through Blanchard and Johonnot it came in time into the hands of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, then of Wenham, who conveyed it in 1833 to Benjamin Ludden of Beverly. Simeon Baker's Tavern and well, and the old Ipswich road, figure as landmarks in the deeds of conveyance. Mr. Oliver's meeting house was of course the second parish meeting house, where Mayor Oliver's father officiated at the time of his birth. The old Baker Tavern will be recognized at once as the scene of Choate's first plea,<sup>2</sup> and the well is famous for having relieved the thirst of Washington.

On this lot, at some time after August, 1788, the Messrs. Cabot, Fisher and their associates had erected a three-story brick building for the manufacture of cotton fabrics. The mill is not now standing. It is well remembered by living persons, and I have been enabled with their help to procure a representation of it which I shall take pleasure in depositing with your society. The late Dr. Peabody of Cambridge remembered it and says, in a sketch of Dr. Fisher, that it was built in 1788. William Endicott, the oldest resident of Beverly, remembers it and saw it burn. Abram Caldwell, born near it and now the oldest resident of Ipswich, writes me a letter minutely describing it. Mrs. Nancy Sheldon, the brothers Brackett

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<sup>2</sup>Rufus Choate acted as counsel in a prosecution for larceny before Squire Woodbury, who lived opposite the Tavern, and who often held Court in its dining-hall. Asahel Huntington, who had taught a district school at North Beverly, was retained for the defence, and procured the discharge of his client—a widow woman from Danvers—to the delight of a crowded auditory. The Baker Tavern was the favorite meeting-place of the Bass River Lodge of Freemasons.



and William Lord, William Grant, and other living witnesses attended school in it after the war of 1812-15, when it was last used for manufacturing purposes. The Salem Gazette of October 14, 1828, says: "The brick factory, with the barn and sheds attached to the Baker Tavern in Beverly, was burnt down and the tavern was on fire when the Eastern stage came through Beverly last evening." And the Essex Register of the 16th adds: "The fire first started from the chimney of the Tavern just before dark during a violent gale, and consumed the brick building near by, formerly used as a cotton factory." A brick meeting-house was erected in 1829 at Beverly Farms, and the venerable Deacon Haskell was one of a party of young men who at that time visited the ruins of the cotton mill at upper Beverly, where they cleaned the bricks and removed them to the Farms to be used in building the village meeting-house.

Before the purchase of this ample property the Beverly adventurers had petitioned the legislature, June, 1788, for an act of incorporation. The petition sets forth so clearly the whole scope and nature of their enterprise, and is so influentially indorsed, that I ask your permission to read it. The petitioners represent that the Commonwealth has reached a point in population and agriculture at which it becomes necessary to establish manufactures. That no kind of manufacture appears more practicable at present or more useful than that of cotton. The principal part of the labor is performed by machinery. Many of the machines are applicable to the manufacture of silk, hemp, flax and wool. It will afford employment to a great number of women and children, many of whom will otherwise be useless if not a burden to society. Induced by some of these considerations they have endeavored to ascertain by actual experiment on a small scale the prob-

ability of success in attempting this manufacture. They find it in their power to fabricate any kind of cotton or linen goods equal in quality to any made in Europe and much superior to those usually imported. Cotton may be procured here as cheap as or cheaper than in Europe. Linen yarn, machinery and labor in general will be on an average about fifty per cent. higher. They are of the opinion that although the balance cannot be greatly in favor of the business yet it will afford such profit as to support itself, excepting the extraordinary expense attending its introduction. This expense they conceive to be really lost by the first undertakers, and, if the art be valuable, gained by the community. They therefore conceive that it is necessary to the establishment of such a manufacture that the legislature should grant some peculiar favors to the first adventurers; otherwise to them even success will be attended with a considerable loss, a sacrifice which, they presume, the community cannot reasonably expect. They pray the Court to take the premises into their consideration, and to grant them a charter with such immunities and favors as they in their wisdom shall think necessary to counterbalance the disadvantages and expenses peculiar to the introduction of this manufacture. The signers were John Cabot, George Cabot, Deborah Cabot, Andrew Cabot, Moses Brown, Nathan Dane, Joshua Fisher, Thomas Somers, Israel Thorndike, James Leonard, Henry Higginson and Isaac Chapman.

This petition was committed June 6th, and on June 17th was referred to a sitting of the General Court which began in January, 1789. In February, 1789, the adventurers not only procured a charter<sup>3</sup> with leave to hold real estate amounting to ten thousand pounds, and per-

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<sup>3</sup> See Addenda, at the end of this Address, pp. 21-23.



sonal estate amounting to eighty thousand pounds, but they also received an elaborate indorsement of their enterprise coupled with a grant of aid in the form of a resolve for encouraging the cotton manufactory at Beverly<sup>4</sup> so that there was at Beverly in February, 1789 — Slater had not then set foot in America — something which the legislature of Massachusetts described as a cotton manufactory and thought worthy of encouragement.

The resolve set forth, in its preamble, the necessity of introducing such manufactures as will employ the citizens of the Commonwealth,—check those emigrations which are ruinous to the state, and increase the number of manufacturers who, by consuming the products of the soil, will add to the value of it; and it proceeded to grant to the corporators the value of five hundred pounds, lawful money in specie, to be paid in the Eastern lands, the property of this Commonwealth. Amongst the eminent petitioners for incorporation was the Hon. George Cabot, a brother of John Cabot, and a man of national reputation, whom I need not pause to characterize here. To his personal friend, Alexander Hamilton, then first secretary of the treasury, and also to our first member of Congress, Benjamin Goodhue, Mr. Cabot wrote that the Beverly undertakers were engaged in the cotton enterprise as early as October, 1787, and that they were the only persons who had prosecuted the business to any effect.<sup>5</sup> Congress was invoked to aid the mill by a national lottery and Mr. Cabot says that forty people are employed in it (this as early as March, 1790), and that Rhode Island undertakers are already stealing their experience and skilled labor.

The Salem Mercury for April 22, 1788, made this announcement: "Several public-spirited gentlemen in

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<sup>4</sup> See Addenda, at the end of this Address, pp. 29-30.

<sup>5</sup> See Addenda, at the end of this Address, pp. 37-42.

Beverly have procured a complete set of machines for carding and spinning cotton, with which an experiment was made a few days ago, answering the warmest wishes of the proprietors. The spinning jenny spins sixty threads at a time, and with the carding machine forty pounds of cotton can be well carded in a day—the warping machine and the other tools and machinery, part of which go by water, are all complete—perform their various operations to great advantage and promise much benefit to the public and emolument to the patriotic adventurers.” And on May 6, 1788, the Salem Mercury reported “the artists who introduced into Beverly the machines for carding and spinning cotton are Mr. Leonard and Mr. Somers, who were regularly bred to the making and finishing of velvets, corduroys, jeans, fustians, denims, Marseilles quiltings, dimity, muslins, etc. With such talents they supposed that the risk and expense of coming to this country would be amply recompensed by the encouragement such valuable manufactures deserve. But they made various applications with no other effect than loss of time and money. Such difficulties, co-operating with the want of energy and system in our governments, reduced them to the disagreeable necessity of resolving to leave a country so unpromising to manufactures, when the Hon. George Cabot generously patronized them, and influenced a number of gentlemen in Beverly to associate for the purpose of establishing these much wanted industries. These gentlemen merit the thanks of their fellow citizens.”

On January 6, 1789, the Salem Mercury mentions a promising cotton manufactory in Beverly. It is plain that the projectors, since securing a location the August before, had lost no time. They erected on it a plain three-story building of brick; measuring about sixty by twenty-five feet with a pitching shingled roof, and a deep basement,

in one end of which moved a heavy pair of horses to furnish rotary power. The late Joshua Herrick of Maine, afterwards a member of Congress, when a boy, used to drive them. In the northwesterly corner of the lot stood a small wooden dye-house, which either disappeared in the fire or has been converted into a dwelling. The brick mill stood seventy feet behind and parallel with the line of the tavern yard. Between the factory and Ipswich Road was the famous well of water, with well-sweep and curb, from which the neighboring inn supplied itself and Washington is recorded as drinking. Beverly, by vote of the town, excused the foremen from the payment of a poll-tax for 1788, and in October of that year, in another vote, spoke of the "Cotton Manufactory that has been lately set up in this Town." Apprentices were received as early as June, 1789, and in 1790 the Beverly factory sent out a mechanic to introduce its machinery in Connecticut. But before the close of the eventful year of 1789, the birth-year of the United States Government, an incident occurred of most fortunate omen for the infant enterprise. On the 30th day of October in that year, Washington took breakfast with George Cabot at his house in Beverly, and afterwards rode out to visit the cotton mill on his way to Portsmouth.<sup>6</sup> Nothing could have given more encouragement and publicity to the patriotic experiment.

The Salem Mercury of November 3, 1789, printed before Mr. Slater's arrival in America, says this of Washington's visit: "As he passed through Beverly he visited the cotton manufactory in that place. He was shown, in the lower story, a jenny of eighty-four spindles upon which some of the manufacturers were spinning warp; and three or four other jennies upon

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<sup>6</sup> See Addenda, at the end of this Address, pp. 31-36.



which they were spinning weft; and about a dozen looms, upon which they were weaving cotton denim, thicksett, corduroys, velveret, etc. In the middle story were seen a roping jenny of forty-two spindles and a machine on which a person usually doubles and twists in a day a cotton warp of fifty yards. In the upper story were exhibited the business of carding, warping and cutting; and in a contiguous building that of dressing on the stove; the whole evincing such proofs of industry, ingenuity and improvement as offered that illustrious patron of the arts (who was himself clothed in a suit of American manufacture) the highest satisfaction.

"The quantity of goods made there amounts, according to information, to about ten thousand yards. These goods are mostly a coarse fabric — the first essay of our countrymen in learning the art, but they have been found by frequent trials to be remarkably strong and durable — those lately woven will probably be equally handsome with foreign manufacture of that kind and superior in every other respect."

Washington had passed the night in Salem. On Friday morning, in compliance with the universal wish of the people that the most majestic figure of the time might be seen once more on horseback, he had mounted the white charger, at the steps of the Ward mansion, in the street which at that time took his name, and proceeded to Beverly.

He dismounted first to inspect the draw of the just completed bridge of which his friend and long-time correspondent, George Cabot, had been the chief promoter, and again for breakfast at the Cabot mansion. Here Henry Cabot, the little son of the host, the grandfather of his namesake, Senator Lodge, who tells the story, hid himself under the mahogany and watched with breathless

scrutiny every look and gesture of the Father of his Country. Breakfast over, Washington was again in the saddle and only surrendered the charger to his colored groom on leaving the Cotton Mill.

At the Cotton Mill Washington was attended by a bevy of young women, — the attendants at the mill being generously reinforced for the occasion by hosts of friends all eager to demonstrate the processes and exhibit the machines with an unforbidden sense of delight such as no other moment of their lives was ever able to afford them. Having slaked his thirst at the well, on retiring, the illustrious guest resumed his travelling carriage for Newburyport and Portsmouth.<sup>7</sup>

But before night Washington had made the daily entry in his journal. It was in these words: "Friday, Oct. 30, a little after eight o'clock, I set out for Newburyport and in less than two miles crossed the bridge between Salem and Beverly, which makes a handsome appearance." (He then discusses the bridge at some length and resumes) "After passing Beverly two miles we come to the cotton manufactory which seems to be carrying on with spirit by the Cabots (principally).

In this manufactory they have the new-invented carding and spinning machines. One of the first supplies the work, and four of the latter, one of which spins eighty-four threads at a time by one person. The cotton is prepared for these machines by being drawn lightly to a thread on the common wheel. There is also another machine for doubling and twisting the threads for particular cloths; this also does many at a time. For winding the cotton from the spindles and preparing it for the warp there is a reel which expedites the work greatly. A number of looms (fifteen or sixteen) were at work

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<sup>7</sup> The Institute has a sepia drawing of this scene by George Elmer Browne.

with spring shuttles, which do more than double work. In short the whole seems perfect and the cotton stuffs which they turn out excellent of their kind—warp and filling both of cotton.”

Fortunately, however, the claim of Beverly does not rest solely on this evidence, impregnable as it is in that Washington's diary fixes not only the disputed date but gives the exact character of the machinery in operation and of the fabrics produced. Nor does it rest alone on contemporary evidence of journals of the day, although they were, from the first of December, 1789, advertising for sale the products of this mill in great variety. In Beverly, Baker and Allen were warranting the corduroys as equal for service to any imported and at as low a price. And in Salem, at the store of Francis Cabot and elsewhere, might be bought, besides corduroys, royal ribs, thick setts, stockinette and rib delures of different qualities and prices, by wholesale or retail, all manufactured in Beverly and warranted to be lower in price than any English goods of the same kind and quality to be found in the state.

Felt, the infallible annalist of Salem, says that in 1790 the wear of the Beverly corduroys had become very common; whilst the biographies of Slater make it pretty certain that he had produced no textile fabrics ready for the market before 1791.

But, finally, we have in addition to all this an explicit declaration from the leading spirit in the Pawtucket enterprise to the effect that Beverly was ahead of him.

Moses Brown, an eminent Quaker capitalist of Providence, was from the outset the head and front of Slater's undertakings. He invited him from New York, he established him at Pawtucket, and he at once began a correspondence with his namesake, Moses Brown, of the



Beverly adventurers, craving sympathy in the discouragements which tried his Quaker equanimity, and especially asking co-operation in petitioning Congress and the states for aid and legislation. In an early letter of this kind Mr. Brown of Providence writes: "I have for some time thought of addressing the Beverly manufacturers on the subject of an application to Congress for some encouragement to the cotton manufactures, by an additional duty on the cotton goods imported and applying such duty as a bounty, partly for raising and saving cotton in the Southern States, of a quality and cleanness suitable to be wrought by machines, and partly as a bounty on cotton goods of the kind manufactured in the United States, and it is the desire of those concerned this way that you, *being the first and largest*, would take the lead and devise such plans as may be most eligible."

No son of Beverly, jealous of her ancient fame, and anxious at once to claim all that is her due, and to claim nothing which does not belong to her, need hesitate to assert, anywhere and at all times, that the first cotton mill in America was the Beverly cotton mill.

All honor and grateful remembrance to Slater and the noble company of pioneers who, in 1790-91, by their energy and persistency and shrewdness and courage and foresight and public spirit, set in motion at Pawtucket the mighty enginery of cotton spinning!

They builded better than they knew. The vast changes their enterprise effected in the cleanliness and comfort of toiling millions — the toiling millions to whom their industry was destined to give work and bread — it was not within the scope of human prescience to foresee results like these — results which give cotton-spinning a place amongst inventions like printing and the locomotive and vaccination and gun-powder and the electro-magnet and



the compass and the sewing-machine and ether. The future was not unveiled to them, but they kept the faith. They have their reward. We know too well the misadventures, the discouragements, the anxieties and perplexities which test the manhood and endurance of pioneers like these. But nothing is more certain than that they followed the lead of Beverly in this world-redeeming industry. Whilst they surmounted gigantic obstacles and justly receive the plaudits of their posterity, the same meed of praise is to be awarded, even with an added unction, to those explorers who sailed before them, without a compass and without a pilot, in this troubled sea. The country profits by their enterprise and sacrifices, and if the Beverly undertakers were not destined to become the fathers and founders of the cotton industry of America they had at least accomplished — before Slater reached America — more than a year before Slater's enginery was set in motion at Pawtucket — a noble work which challenged the admiring scrutiny of the Father of his Country!

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### ADDENDA.

#### LEGISLATION, LITERATURE AND CORRESPONDENCE.

An ACT for incorporating certain Persons by the name of the Proprietors of the *Beverly Cotton Manufactory*.

WHEREAS the promotion of useful manufactures, and particularly such as are carried on with materials of American produce within this Commonwealth, will tend to the happiness and welfare thereof, by increasing the agriculture and extending the commerce of the country; and whereas *John Cabot, George Cabot, Deborah Cabot, Andrew Cabot, Moses Brown, Joshua Fisher, Israel Thorndike, James Leonard, Thomas Somers, and Isaac Chapman*, all of *Beverly*, and *Henry Higginson*, of *Boston*, have associated themselves for the purpose of establishing the manufacture of cotton and cotton and linen goods, and have been at considerable expense in promoting the said

manufacture; and whereas they have petitioned the Legislature to incorporate them with such powers and privileges, as may enable them to prosecute the business aforesaid :

Sect. 1. *Be it therefore enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in the General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same,* that the aforenamed *John Cabot, George Cabot, Deborah Cabot, Andrew Cabot, Moses Brown, Joshua Fisher, Israel Thorndike, James Leonard, Thomas Somers, and Isaac Chapman,* all of *Beverly*, and *Henry Higginson* of *Boston*, so long as they shall be proprietors in the said manufactory, together with all those who now are or shall become proprietors in the same. are hereby incorporated forever by the name of *The Proprietors of the Beverly Cotton Manufactory.*

Sect. 2. *Provided nevertheless,* That any person who now is, or hereafter shall be by force of this Act, one of the said corporation, upon his ceasing to be a proprietor as aforesaid, shall cease to be a member thereof.

Sect. 3. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the said Corporation are hereby made capable in law, of holding, purchasing, possessing and enjoying, to the use of the several members of the said Corporation, and to their heirs and assigns, in the same proportion as they are severally interested in the said manufactory, real estate to the amount of *ten thousand pounds*, and personal estate to the amount of *eighty thousand pounds*, and also of selling, aliening or disposing of the same: *Provided however,* That the same be employed while the property of the said Corporation, in the manufacture of the articles aforesaid.

Sect. 4. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the said Corporation shall be capable in law of suing and being sued, pleading and being impleaded, defending and being defended, in all courts of record and other places whatsoever, and shall have such officers and servants as they may hereafter appoint, and are hereby empowered to make and execute such laws and regulations as may be necessary for the government of the said Corporation, provided the same shall in no case be repugnant to the laws of this Commonwealth; and provided also, the penalty annexed to a breach of the said laws, shall in no case exceed the sum of *fifty pounds*; and shall have full power and authority to make and use a common seal, and the same at pleasure to break, alter and revoke; and in all proceedings of the said Corporation, the votes of the members shall be taken according to the real interest or number of shares which they respectively hold in the actual property of the said Corporation.

Sect. 5. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That all goods which may be manufactured by the said Corporation, shall have a label of lead affixed to one end thereof, which shall have the

same impressiön with the seal of the said Corporation, and that if any person shall knowingly use a like seal or label with that used by said Corporation, by annexing the same to any cotton or cotton and linen goods, not manufactured by said Corporation, with a view of vending or disposing thereof, as the proper manufacture of the said Corporation, every person so offending shall forfeit and pay treble the value of such goods, to be sued for and recovered for the use of the said Corporation, by action of debt, in any court of record proper to try the same.

[Passed, *February 3, 1789.*]

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To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in General Court assembled.

The Proprietors of the Beverly Cotton Manufactory beg leave to represent,

That the Establishment of a Manufacture of Cotton, in imitation of the most useful and approved Stuffs, which are formed of that material in Europe, and thence continually imported into this Country at a very great expence, has been attempted by the said Proprietors. This attempt commenced in the year 1787, from a consideration of the extensive public advantages to be obtained by it; and on this occasion your Petitioners may be permitted to declare that in that view of the subject, the hazard of their private property, and the many obstacles which have since deprived them of every hope of present emolument to themselves, were overlooked. The Design has been prosecuted, altho it has proved much more arduous and expensive than was at first conceived, and under very discouraging circumstances, so far as to demonstrate, that it is practicable, and that that manufacture being once established, will be sufficiently lucrative to support and extend itself, and will afford not only a supply for domestic Consumption, but a staple for Exportation.

The general Use within the United States of imported Cotton Goods, is well known to this Court. It may be necessary to suggest for their reflection, that articles of this extensive consumption among us, have been provided by foreigners, whose Commerce we have thus encouraged, and that in this, as in other instances, we have been draining our Country of a circulating medium to contribute to the wealth and populousness of Great Britain. Removing the occasion of this destructive Traffic, is not the only public advantage to be derived from the Manufacture of Cotton, as undertaken by the said Proprietors. The Raw material is procured in exchange for fish, the most valuable Export in the possession of this State, and at this time in great need



of encouragement. It must be evident that the Codfishery will be essentially encouraged, by extending the demand for the Imports to be obtained by it. This Manufacture finds employment and support for a great number of persons, and among others, for infirm women and children, who for want of employ are often burdensome to the Public. In its immediate operation, and in the Commerce and Navigation connected with it, this hon'ble Court will not fail to discover, the beneficial influence of this manufacture, and especially upon the landed interests, by the increase of people and of national wealth, which may be expected from it.

The said Proprietors in the prosecution of their design, have necessarily incurred a variety of expences and losses, which succeeding adventurers cannot be liable to. Among those experienced by us are the following vizt.

The extraordinary price of Machines, unknown to our Mechanics, intricate and difficult in their construction, without any model in the Country, and only to be effected by repeated Trials, and long attention; one instance among many of this kind, is a Carding Machine, which cost the Proprietors, eleven hundred dollars, and which can now be purchased for two hundred dollars.

The extraordinary loss of materials in the instruction of their servants and workmen, while so many are new, and the additional losses sustained by the desertion of these when partly informed, and by the increase of Wages to prevent it, in consequence of the Competition of rival manufactories.

The present want of that perfection and beauty in their goods, which long established Manufactories can exhibit, from the skill of their Workmen, but principally from the Use of Machines, which your Petitioners have as yet found too expensive for them to procure. But not to trouble your honors with detail which would encroach too much on the time of this Court, your Petitioners have ever conceived that the Government of this Commonwealth would at least indemnify them for these extraordinary expences and losses, which cannot be reimbursed by any future success of their design, since the Models and Machines and the essential information obtained at their expence, is open to every succeeding adventurer.

The Expenditures of the said Proprietors have already amounted to nearly the sum of £4,000, the Value of their remaining Stock is not equal to £2,000, and a further very considerable advancement is absolutely necessary to obtain that degree of perfection in this manufacture, which alone can ensure its success. This necessary addition to their Stock will enable the proprietors to rival in beauty, perfection and cheapness the European manufacturers, and in their use, they shall willingly trust in the prudence and patriotism of their Country-



men for a preference — But the Proprietors having already hazarded, some of them, their whole fortunes, and others very large sums, are obliged to declare that without some aid from this hon'ble Court, no further advancements can be made. And mortifying as it is, they feel themselves in the necessity of relinquishing a design highly beneficial to the Public, and undertaken by them from the purest motives.

The intended aid by a Grant of Land made by a former Legislature to the said Proprietors, has not in any degree answered the purpose of it. Your Petitioners now pray that in lieu of this Grant, some more real and ready assistance may be afforded them, submitting to the Wisdom of this honorable Court the particular mode of effecting it. Your Petitioners conceive that the Establishment of a manufacture, which gives encouragement to the most valuable branch of Commerce possessed by this State, which must in its Operation increase the number of People, and prevent those emigrations which have become so frequent, and are so dangerous to the landed Interest; a manufacture, which once established, will retain amongst us, large sums of our circulating medium, and greatly increase the wealth of our Country, cannot fail of the Attention and protecting influence of this honorable Court, and in this confidence they still anticipate the success of their design, and as in duty bound will ever pray, &c.

JOHN CABOT, }  
JOSHUA FISHER, } Managers.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, June 2d, 1790.

Read and committed to the standing Committee for the encouragement of arts, agriculture & manufactures, to consider & report.

Sent up for concurrence.

DAVID COBB, Spkr.

IN SENATE, June 2d, 1790.

Read and concurred.

SAMUEL PHILLIPS, JR., Presidt.

#### COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

In the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Ninety.

An Act to establish the manufacture of Cotton within this Commonwealth, and to encourage the Beverly Cotton Manufactory.

Whereas a manufacture of Cotton in imitation of the most approved European Cotton Goods, may be with suitable management prosecuted within this Commonwealth with great Public advantage, and Whereas the Patriotic exertions of the Proprietors of the Beverly

Cotton Manufactory, and their extraordinary expenses in attempting this manufacture, have merited and require the attention of the Public, to enable them to perfect their design :

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in general Court assembled and by the authority of the same, that a sum not exceeding thirteen hundred pounds including the expense of raising the same, may be raised, and is hereby granted to be raised in a Lottery or Lotteries in One or more Classes; the proceeds whereof shall be received by the proprietors of the Beverly Cotton Manufactory, to be by them applied in prosecuting and perfecting such manufacture by obtaining and using therein, all the requisite art and machinery, so far as the said proceeds shall extend——

And be it further enacted that Larkin Thorndike & John Cabot Esqrs. & Dr. Joshua Fisher, or any two of them having severally and each for himself given Bonds with sufficient Surety or Sureties to the Treasurer of this Commonwealth in the sum of Two Thousand pounds conditioned for the faithful execution of his respective Trust, and having been sworn before some Justice of the Peace for the impartial performance of the same, shall be and hereby are appointed and authorized to be the sole managers of the said Lottery and Lotteries: And it shall be the duty of such Managers to concert and Publish a scheme of every Lottery which shall be undertaken in consequence of this Act, a Copy of which scheme under the hands of the said managers undertaking the same shall be lodged with the said Treasurer before the drawing of such Lottery. And the Managers undertaking shall within Six Months next after the publication of their scheme, either draw such Lottery, or return to every purchaser or possessor of any Ticket or Share in such Lottery, the whole sum paid therefor without any deduction, and the drawing of such Lottery shall be in public and agreeably to the scheme thereof, and within twenty days next afterwards a correct list of all Prizes or fortunate numbers which shall have been drawn therein shall be published in the Independent Chronicle & Salem Gazette and within Twenty days after such publication the amount and value of such prize agreeably to the scheme of such Lottery, shall be paid to the possessor of such prize Ticket or fortunate number. Provided that if any prize shall not be demanded within six months after such publication, it shall be taken to be generously given for the purpose of the Lottery and accounted for accordingly.

And further it shall be the duty of such managers at all times on demand of the said Proprietors, to render a true account of the state of any Lottery which shall be undertaken as aforesaid, and the said managers, reserving a reasonable allowance for their trouble, and all necessary expenses which shall have been incurred in conducting



such lottery, shall be held within One Month after the drawing of any Lottery or Class of a Lottery to pay to said Proprietors the net proceeds of such Lottery or Class, the allowance to the said Managers to be agreed upon between them and the said Proprietors.

And be it further enacted, that the Proprietors of the Beverly Cotton Manufactory in their Corporate Capacity, shall become bound to the Treasurer of this Commonwealth, in the sum of two thousand pounds, with Condition, that the net proceeds after deducting three per Cent on the whole amount of the Tickets of any Lottery or Class of a Lottery with the necessary charges of printing only, shall be actually appropriated in such way and manner as will most effectually promote the manufacture of Cotton-Piece-Goods in this Commonwealth, and that the said Proprietors shall continue their said Manufacture for the term of five years next after this Grant.

And be it further enacted that if any person shall forge or counterfeit any Ticket or Tickets which shall be made in consequence of this Act, or shall alter the same with fraudulent intent, or shall utter any Forged or altered Ticket or Tickets knowing the same to be so forged or altered, or shall fraudulently offer the same for payment or sale, every such person, being thereof convicted in due form of law, shall suffer the Pains and Penalties by law to be inflicted in other cases of wilful Forgery.

Provided that the said Lottery shall not begin to operate until eight months from and after the passing of this Act, which shall continue and be in force the term of Two Years from the expiration of the said eight months and no longer. Provided also that before the commencement of the said Lottery, the said Proprietors shall relinquish to this Commonwealth their Claim by virtue of a Grant to be paid in Eastern Lands made on the 17th day of February A. D. 1789.

In the House of Representatives June 24th 1790. This Bill having had three several Readings passed to be Engrossed.

Sent up for concurrence.

DAVID COBB, Spk<sup>r</sup>.

This Act failed to pass the Senate.

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Resolve on the petition of the proprietors of the *Beverly Cotton Manufactory*, granting them seven hundred tickets. in the Semi-annual State Lottery — on condition.

Passed, *March 4, 1791.*

WHEREAS the manufacture of Cotton, as undertaken by the proprietors of the *Beverly Cotton manufactory*, continues to need the aid of

Government for its support and effectual establishment, notwithstanding the spirited exertions of the said proprietors; and it appearing to be of great importance to this Commonwealth, that the said manufacture should be pursued:

*Resolved*, That there be, and is hereby granted to the said proprietors, four hundred tickets of the present State Lottery, called the Semi-annual Lottery; and also three hundred tickets more to be received from the next lottery or class, which shall be undertaken by the managers of the State Lottery, of the same price:— and the said Managers are hereby directed and authorized, to deliver the said Proprietors, their Treasurer, Agent, or Committee, the said 400 tickets, from the Lottery now in hand; and the said three hundred tickets, from the said next lottery, or class, as soon as may be, after the sale thereon shall be commenced; taking two receipts of the said Treasurer, or other person, to whom the same shall be delivered, for the use of the said Proprietors, upon each delivery, the one of such receipts to be lodged with the Treasurer of this Commonwealth; and the other to be retained by the Manager or Managers, who shall deliver the same.

*Provided*, and it is further *Resolved*, That the said Proprietors, by their Corporate Name, shall become bound to this Commonwealth, in the sum of *three thousand pounds* in a bond, to be delivered to the Treasurer, and to be conditioned, that the said proprietors shall, for at least seven years now coming, continue to prosecute the said manufacture at *Beverly*, or elsewhere, under the immediate direction of the said Proprietors, their Agents or Servants; and shall employ therein, with all reasonable care and industry, at least their whole present stock; and also after the first day of *July* next, an additional sum of *twelve hundred pounds*; and shall deliver with the said bond, to the Treasurer, a correct inventory of their said present stock.



From the "Introduction and early Progress of the Cotton Manufacture in the United States," by Samuel Batchelder, Boston, 1863, pp. 26-33.

A factory was commenced at Beverly, in 1787, expressly for the manufacture of cotton goods, with such machinery as could then be procured; and finding the construction of the machinery very difficult and expensive, and the prospects very discouraging, they made application to the Legislature for aid, which in February, 1789, passed the following:

"Resolve for encouraging the Cotton Manufactory at Beverly, Feb. 17, 1789.

WHEREAS, It is essential to the true interest of this Commonwealth, to encourage within the same, the introduction and establishment of such manufactures as will give the most extensive and profitable employment to its citizens, and thereby, instead of those emigrations which are ruinous to the State, increase the number of manufacturers, who by consuming the productions of the soil will add to the value of it; and Whereas, John Cabot and others, who have been incorporated by the name of 'The Proprietors of the Beverly Cotton Manufactory,' have set forth to this Court the difficulties and extraordinary expences that attend the introduction of the Cotton Manufactory to be such as require the assistance of Government: For the support and encouragement of said manufactory: *Be it Resolved*,—That there be granted, and there hereby is granted accordingly, and conveyed to *John Cabot, Joshua Fisher, Henry Higginson, Moses Brown, George Cabot, Andrew Cabot, Israel Thorndike, Isaac Chapman* and *Deborah Cabot*, they being members of the said corporation, the value of *five hundred pounds*, lawful money, in specie, to be paid in the eastern lands, the property of this Commonwealth; the said lands to be valued, ascertained and conveyed by the Committee for the sale thereof; to have and to hold the same, with the appurtenances, to them and their heirs and assigns forever, for their use as tenants in common in the proportion following, *to wit*: to the said *John Cabot*, ten fortieth parts; to the said *Joshua Fisher*, nine fortieth parts; to the said *Henry Higginson*, four fortieth parts; to the said *Moses Brown*, four fortieth parts; to the said *George Cabot*, four fortieth parts; to the said *Andrew Cabot*, two fortieth parts; to the said *Israel Thorndike*, four fortieth parts; to the said *Isaac Chapman*, one fortieth part; and to the said *Deborah Cabot*, two fortieth parts. *Provided, however*, That this resolve, and the grant aforesaid, shall be void, and the said land shall again revert to this Commonwealth, unless the said corporation or the said grantees, their heirs or assigns,

shall manufacture, within seven years from the passing of this resolve, a quantity of cotton and cotton and linen piece-goods, of a quality usually imported into this Commonwealth, not less than fifty thousands of yards; and shall keep in a book a full and true account of the several kinds and the quantity of each kind, and the value of the same, which account shall be verified by the testimony of at least two of the proprietors, on oath, and a fair copy thereof be lodged in the Secretary's office; or unless the said corporation or the said grantees, their heirs or assigns, shall pay to the Treasurer of this Commonwealth *five hundred pounds* in gold or silver, within eight years after the passing of this resolve."

It appears that the proprietors had not found the grant of land, before recited, available for their purpose, and that in June, 1790, a petition was presented to the Legislature in their behalf, signed by John Cabot and Joshua Fisher, managers. They represent—

"That they had expended about four thousand pounds, and that the present value of their stock was not equal to two thousand, and that a farther very considerable advancement is absolutely necessary; that the intended aid by a grant of land made by a former legislature has not, in any degree, answered the purpose of it, and pray that in lieu of that grant some real and ready assistance may be afforded them."

The petitioners state, as one of the public advantages to be derived from the manufacture of cotton, that the raw material is procured (from the West Indies) in exchange for fish, "the most valuable export in possession of the State." They mention the extraordinary cost of machines, intricate and difficult in their construction, without any model in the country, and instance a carding-machine that cost eleven hundred dollars. The petition was referred to a committee, of which Nathaniel Gorham was chairman, who reported, "that the petitioners have a grant of one thousand pounds, to be raised in a lottery, on condition that they give bonds that the money be actually appropriated in such a way as will most effectually promote the manufacturing of cotton piece-goods in this Commonwealth."

This factory at Beverly was in operation at the time of Washington's visit to the north in 1789. It was built of brick, and was continued in operation to some extent for several years. It was driven by horse-power; and a gentleman is still living, who was, a few years ago, a member of Congress, and is yet an active octogenarian in government employ, and who remembers when a boy, occasionally driving a pair of large bay horses to give motion to the wheels.

I have been thus particular in regard to the mill at Beverly, because it was the earliest enterprise undertaken and carried into execution in this country for manufacturing cotton, and was certainly in operation some time before 1789.



Washington's tour from Boston through Essex County — as entered in his diary for October-November, 1789.

*Wednesday, 28th.*

Went, after an early breakfast, to visit the duck manufacture, which appeared to be carrying on with spirit, and is in a prosperous way. They have manufactured 32 pieces of Duck of 30 or 40 yds. each in a week; and expect in a short time to increase it to ——. They have 28 looms at work, and 14 Girls spinning with Both hands, (the flax being fastened to their waste.) Children (girls) turn the wheels for them, and with this assistance each spinner can turn out 14 lbs. of Thread pr. day when they stick to it, but as they are pd. by the piece, or work they do, there is no other restraint upon them but to come at 8 o'clock in the morning, and return at 6 in the evening. They are the daughters of decayed families, and are girls of Character — none others are admitted. The number of hands now employed in the different parts of the work is — but the Managers expect to increase them to —. This is a work of public utility and private advantage. From hence, I went to the Card Manufactory, where I was informed about 900 hands of one kind and for one purpose or another — all kinds of Cards are made; and there are Machines for executing every part of the work in a new and expeditious man'r, especially in cutting and bending the teeth, wch is done at one stroke. They have made 63,000 pr. of Cards in a year and can undersell the imported Cards — nay, Cards of this Manufactory have been smuggled into England. At 11 o'clock I embarked on board the Barge of the "Illustrious," Capt'n. Penthere Gion, and visited his Ship and the Superb, another 74 Gun Ship in the Harbour of Boston, about 4 miles below the Town. Going and coming I was saluted by the two frigates which lye near the wharves, and by the 74 s after I had been on board of them; as also by the 40 Gun Ship which lay in the same range with them. I was also saluted going and coming by the fort on Castle Isld. After my return I dined in a large company at Mr. Bowdoin's, and went to the Assembly in the evening, where (it is said) there were upwards of 100 Ladies. Their appearance was elegant, and many of them very handsome; the Room is small but neat, and well ornamented.

*Thursday, 29th.*

Left Boston about 8 o'clock. Passed over the Bridge at Charles-Town, and went to see that at Malden, but proceeded to the College at Cambridge, attended by the Vice-President, Mr. Bowdoin, and a great number of Gentlemen.

At this place I was shown by Mr. Willard, the President, the Philosophical apparatus, and amongst others Pope's Orary (a curious piece of mechanism for shewing the revolutions of the Sun, Earth, and many other of the Planets), the library (containing 13,000 volumes,) and a Museum. The Bridges of Charlestown and Malden are useful and noble — doing great credit to the enterprising spirit of the people of this state. From Boston, besides the number of citizens which accompanied me to Cambridge, and many of them from thence to Lynn — the Boston Corps of Horse escorted me to the line between Middlesex and Essex County, where a party of Horse, with Genl. Titcomb, met me, and conducted me through Marblehead (which is 4 miles out of the way, but I wanted to see it,) to Salem. The Chief employment of the People of Marblehead (males) is fishing; about 110 vessels and 800 men and boys are engaged in this business. Their chief export is fish. About 5000 souls are said to be in this place, which has the appearance of antiquity; the Houses are old; the streets dirty; and the common people not very clean. Before we entered the Town we were met and attended by a Com'e, till we were handed over to the Selectmen, who conducted us, saluted by artillery, into the Town, to the House of a Mrs. Lee, where there was a cold collation prepared; after partaking of which we visited the Harbour, their fish brakes for curing fish, &c., and then proceeded (first receiving an Address from the Inhabitants) to Salem.

At the Bridge, 2 miles from this Town, we were also met by a Committee, who conducted us by a Brigade of the Militia and one or two handsome Corps in Uniform, through several of the Streets to the Town or Court House, where an Ode in honor of the President was sung — an Address presented to him amidst the acclamations of the People; after which he was conducted to his Lodgings. Rec'd the Compliments of many differt. classes of People, and in the evening, between 7 and 8 o'clock, went to an Assembly, where there was at least an hundred handsome and well dressed Ladies. Abt. nine I returned to my Lodgings.

The Road from Boston to this place is here and there Stoney, tho' level; it is very pleasant: from most parts you are in sight of the Sea. Meads, arable Land, and Rocky hills are much intermixed — the latter chiefly on the left. The Country seems to be in a manner entirely stripped of wood. The grazing is good — the Houses stand thick. After leaving Cambridge, at the distance of 4 miles, we passed through Mystick — then Malden — next Lynn, where it is said 175,000 pairs of shoes (women's, chiefly) have been made in a year by abt. 400 workmen. This is only a row of houses, and not very thick, on each side of the Road. After passing Lynn you enter Marblehead, wch. is 4 miles from Salem. This latter is a neat Town,



and said to contain 8 or 9000 Inhabitants. Its exports are chiefly Fish, Lumber and Provisions. They have in the East India Trade at this time 13 Sail of Vessels.

*Friday, 30th.*

A little after 8 o'clock I set out for Newbury-Port; and in less than 2 miles crossed the Bridge between Salem and Beverly, which makes a handsome appearance, and is upon the same plan of those over Charles and Mystick Rivers; excepting that it has not foot ways as that of the former has. The length of this bridge is 1530 feet, and was built for about £4500, lawful money — a price inconceivably low in my estimation, as there is 18 feet water in the deepest parts of the River over which it is erected. This Bridge is larger than that at Charlestown, but shorter by — feet than the other over Mystick. All of them have draw bridges, by which vessels pass. After passing Beverley, 2 miles, we come to the Cotton Manufactory, which seems to be carrying on with spirit by the Mr. Cabbots (principally). In this Manufactory they have the new Invented Carding and Spinning machines; one of the first supplies the work; and four of the latter; one of which spins 84 threads at a time by one person. The Cotton is prepared for these Machines by being first (lightly) drawn to a thrd, on the common wheel; there is also another machine for doubling and twisting the threads for particular cloths; this also does many at a time. For winding the Cotton from the Spindles, and preparing it for the warp, there is a Reel, which expedites the work greatly. A number of Looms (15 or 16) were at work with spring shuttles, which do more than d'ble work. In short, the whole seemed perfect, and the Cotton stuffs w'ch they turn out, excellent of their kind; warp and filling both are now of Cotton. From this place, with escorts of Horse, I passed on to Ipswich, about 10 miles; at the entrance of which I was met and welcomed by the Select men, and received by a Regm't. of Militia. At this place I was met by Mr. Dalton and some other Gentlemen from Newbury-Port; partook of a cold collation, and proceeded on to the last mentioned place, where I was received with much respect and parade, about 4 o'clock.

In the evening there were rockets and some other fireworks — and every other demonstration to welcome me to the Town. This place is pleasantly situated on Merrimack River, and appears to have carried on (here and above) the shipbuilding business to a grt. extent. The number of souls is estimated at 5000.

*Saturday, 31st.*

Left Newbury-Port a little after 8 o'clock (first breakfasting with Mr. Dalton) and to avoid a wider ferry, more inconvenient boats,

and a piece of heavy sand, we crossed the River at Salisbury, two miles above, and near that further about — and in three miles came to the line wh. divides the State of Massachusetts from that of New Hampshire. Here I took leave of Mr. Dalton and many other private Gentlemen who accompanied me; also of Gen'l. Titcomb who had met me on the line between Middlesex and Essex Counties — Corps of light Horse, and many officers of Militia — and was rec'd by the President of the State of New Hampshire — the Vice-President; some of the Council — Messrs. Langdon and Wingate of the Senate — Col<sup>o</sup> Parker, Marshall of the State, and many other respectable characters; besides several Troops of well clothed Horse in handsome Uniforms, and many officers of the Militia also in handsome (white and red) uniforms of the Manufacture of the State. With this cavalcade, we proceeded, and arrived before 3 o'clock at Portsmouth where we were received with every token of respect and appearance of cordiality, under a discharge of artillery. The streets, doors, and windows were crowded here, as at all the other Places; and, alighting at the Town House, odes were sung and played in honor of the President. The same happened yesterday at my entrance into Newburyport — being stopped at my entrance to hear it. From the Town House I went to Colonel Brewsters Ta'n, the place provided for my residence; and asked the President, Vice-President, the two Senators, the Marshall, and Majr. Gilman to dine with me, which they did; after which I drank Tea at Mr. Langdon's.

*November 1st.*

Attended by the President of the State (Genl. Sullivan), Mr. Langdon, and the Marshall, I went in the forenoon to the Episcopal Church, under the incumbency of a Mr. Ogden; and in the afternoon to one of the Presbyterian or Congregational Churches, in which a Mr. Buckminster Preached. Dined at home with the Marshall, and spent the afternoon in my room writing letters.

*Monday, 2d.*

Having made previous preparations for it, about 8 o'clock, attended by the President, Mr. Langdon, and some other Gentlemen, I went in a boat to view the harbour of Portsmouth; which is well secured against all winds; and from its narrow entrance from the Sea, and passage up to the Town, may be guarded against any approach by water. The anchorage is also good, and the shipping may lay close to the Docks, &c., when at the Town. In my way to the mouth of the Harbour, I stopped at a place called Kittery, in the Province of Maine, the river Piscataqua being the boundary between New Hampshire and it. From



hence I went by the old Fort (formerly built while under the English government) on an Island which is at the entrance of the harbour, and where the Light House stands. As we passed this Fort we were saluted by 13 Guns. Having Lines, we proceeded to the Fishing banks a little without the Harbour, and fished for Cod; but it not being a proper time of tide, we only caught two, with w'ch, about 1 o'clock, we returned to Town. Dined at Mr. Langdon's, and drank Tea there, with a large circle of Ladies, and retired a little after seven o'clock. Before dinner I rec'd an address from the Town, presented by the Vice-President; and returned an answer in the Evening to one I had rec'd from Marblehead, and another from the Presbyterian Clergy of the State of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, delivered at Newbury Port; both of which I had been unable to answer before.

*Tuesday, 3d.*

Sat two hours in the forenoon for a Mr.——, Painter, of Boston, at the request of Mr. Breck, of that place; who wrote Majr. Jackson that it was an earnest desire of many of the Inhabitants of that Town that he might be indulged. After this setting I called upon President Sullivan, and the mother of Mr. Lear, and having walked through most parts of the Town, returned by 12 o'clock, when I was visited by a Clergyman of the name of Haven, who presented me with an Ear and part of the stalk of the dyeing Corn, and several small pieces of Cloth which had been dyed with it, equal to any colours I had ever seen, of various colours. This Corn was blood red, and the rind of the stalk deeply tinged of the same colour.

About 2 o'clock, I received an Address from the Executive of the State of New Hampshire, and in half an hour after dined with them and a large company, at their assembly room, which is one of the best I have seen anywhere in the United States. At half after seven I went to the Assembly, where there were about 75 well dressed, and many of them very handsome ladies—among whom (as was also the case at the Salem and Boston Assemblies) were a greater proportion with much blacker hair than are usually seen in the Southern States. About nine, I returned to my quarters. Portsmouth, it is said, contains 5,000 inhabitants. There are some good houses, (among which Col.<sup>o</sup> Langdon's may be esteemed the first,) but in general they are indifferent, and almost entirely of wood. On wondering at this, as the country is full of stone and good clay for bricks, I was told that on acct. of the fogs and damp, they deemed them wholesomer, and for that reason preferred wood buildings. Lumber, fish, and potash, with some provisions, compose the principal articles of export. Ship-building here and at Newburyport, has been carried on to a considerable extent. During and for some time after the war there was an

entire stagnation to it, but it is beginning now to revive again. The number of ships belonging to the port are estimated at ——

*Wednesday, 4th.*

About half after seven I left Portsmouth, quietly, and without any attendance, having earnestly entreated that all parade and ceremony might be avoided on my return. Before ten I reached Exeter, 14 miles distance. This is considered as the second town in New Hampshire, and stands at the head of the tide-water of Piscataqua River; but ships of 3 or 400 tons are built at it. Above (but in the town) are considerable falls, which supply several grist mills, 2 oyl mills, a slitting mill, and snuff mill. It is a place of some consequence, but does not contain more than 1,000 inhabitants. A jealousy subsists between this town (where the Legislature alternately sits) and Portsmouth; which, had I known it in time, would have made it necessary to have accepted an invitation to a public dinner, but my arrangements having been otherwise made, I could not. From hence, passing through Kingstown (6 miles from Exeter), I arrived at Haverhill about half-past two, and stayed all night. Walked through the town, which stands at the head of the tide of Merrimack River, and in a beautiful part of the country. The lands over which I travelled to-day, are pretty much mixed in places with stone — and the growth with pines — till I came near to Haverhill, where they disappeared, and the land had a more fertile appearance. The whole were pretty well cultivated, but used (principally) for grass and Indian corn. In Haverhill is a Duck manufactory, upon a small but ingenious scale, under the conduct of Col<sup>o</sup> . . . . . At this manufactory one small person turns a wheel which employs eight spinners, each acting independently of each other, so as to occasion no interruption to the rest if any one of them is stopped — whereas at the Boston manufactory of this article, each spinner has a small girl to turn the wheel. The looms are also somewhat differently constructed from those of the common kind, and upon an improved plan. The inhabitants of this small village were well disposed to welcome me to it by every demonstration which could evince their joy.

*Thursday, 5th.*

About sunrise I set out, crossing the Merrimack River at the town, over to the township of Bradford, and in nine miles came to Abbot's tavern, in Andover, where we breakfasted, and met with much attention from Mr. Phillips, President of the Senate of Massachusetts, who accompanied us through Bellariki to Lexington, where I dined, and viewed the spot on which the first blood was spilt in the dispute with



Great Britain, on the 19th of April, 1775. Here I parted with Mr. Phillips, and proceeded on to Watertown, intending (as I was disappointed by the weather and bad roads from travelling through the Interior Country to Charlestown, on Connecticut River) to take what is called the middle road from Boston. The country from Haverhill to Andover is good, and well cultivated. In and about the latter (which stands high) it is beautiful. A mile or two from it you descend into a pine level, pretty sandy, and mixed with swamps, through which you ride several miles, till you begin to ascend the heights on which the town of Bellarika stands, which is also pleasantly situated 10 miles from Andover.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

GEORGE CABOT TO BENJAMIN GOODHUE, M. C.

BEVERLY, MARCH 16, 1790.

*Sir*:—The managers of our manufactory have desired me to forward you the enclosed petition, with the request that you would present it as soon as a suitable opportunity offers. It was their intention to have accompanied the petition with a letter to you, explaining more fully the facts it contains, and the objects of their wishes; but Dr. Fisher, to whom this business was assigned, having fallen sick, it remains unperformed. The Doctor wishes you to be informed “that the proprietors have proceeded as far as they have with a full reliance that, if it appeared upon fair experiment to be a practicable and useful manufacture in this country, in our present state, the government would, in some way or another, reimburse them those heavy charges which they have incurred in *introducing it* ;” “that the managers have, of themselves, acquired that knowledge and experience in the business which now makes it certain that it can be prosecuted with profit to the greatest extent by any persons who can have the advantage of our knowledge without much expense ;” and therefore, “that we cannot reimburse ourselves the great sums we have expended, let the business succeed ever so well among the people at large, who engage in it upon the information we have purchased.” You are not ignorant, I believe, that the Worcester people got their machinery made by a man whom we had taught at great expense, and that their carding engine did not consequently cost an eighth part as much as ours ; they also took away the second spinner we had instructed.

This woman, after having destroyed our materials and enjoyed our support in learning to spin, was bribed to desert us as soon as she could be useful to us. The Rhode Island undertakers have, to a degree, treated us in the same manner; and we have not yet been able to stop this evil which has cost us so much money. We have now 40 people employed, all of whom, except one, are our own country people. Their contracts will expire in succession, and they will diffuse their knowledge and skill through all the States in the Union where manufactories can be carried on. All these things are against *us*; but are they not beneficial to the public in proportion as they are prejudicial to us? We think a fair discussion of our pretensions will show them to be well founded; and that if there be any case in which good policy or public justice (which is always good policy) will dictate the propriety of governmental assistance, it is this case. The infinite importance of a manufacture that will clothe us in this cold climate in winter as well as wool, and which is used universally in warm countries, will be acknowledged by all to give it a stronger claim to public patronage than any other that has been attempted or proposed. The materials being vegetable, and the productions of various countries, may be considered as illimitable in quantity; and such as will, in all human probability, be always at a price in this country as low as in any manufacturing country this side the Cape of Good Hope. The intimate connection and reciprocal benefit that naturally subsist between manufactures and agriculture at this period, between these and commerce and population, and betwixt all of them and a national strength and a productive revenue, will necessarily induce Congress to give the subject a candid examination; but it will always be necessary in a popular assembly that some few persons should take upon themselves the trouble of *thinking* for others. For this reason the managers would be obliged to you for such particular support and personal attention to the business as you shall think it merits. They flatter themselves with the hope that Congress may, by a lottery, allow them to take a voluntary tax from persons in different parts of the Union *to the amount of their extra expense*, and thus divide among a *greater* number the cost of a benefit which is *common to all*. Mr. Ames is acquainted with many circumstances which it would be tedious to recite in this letter, but which may be convenient to be possessed of: we wish, therefore, you may have an opportunity of consulting with him previous to the introduction of the petition. You may recollect that we engaged in this undertaking in October, 1787. Whether the Philadelphians had then begun, we are unable to say. We did not know of their doing anything until the spring following; but, be this as it may, we believe that we are the only persons who, at *private* expense, have prosecuted the busi-

ness to any effect. In Philadelphia, it has been supported by an extensive contribution, and by the aid of their State government, and yet it is trifling there compared with it here. You will find that, in all the countries of Europe where the benefit of this manufacture is enjoyed, great sums have been expended in introducing it, and that these have been borne by the public. In Ireland, a bounty of five per cent., and large grants of money from Parliament, with loans free of interest: and in France the government has continually patronized the undertakers. It will occur to you that the European manufacturer would gladly suppress the efforts we are making, and that a reimbursement of our expenses would be thought a cheap purchase.

I hope Dr. Fisher will be able to write you by next post, in which you may have much information not in my power to give, as to the progress and state of our business.

I am, sir, with much respect, your most obedient servant,

GEORGE CABOT.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

BEVERLY, APRIL 6, 1790.

. . . Since our petition was forwarded to you the people of Lebanon, in Connecticut, have sent for one of our machine-makers, who, I suppose, will go and assist them in setting up a manufactory there. You know the state of the one in Worcester and that there is one in Providence and another in Greenwich. All these have the benefit of the knowledge and information we have purchased. An increased duty on importation of such articles as are manufactured here will undoubtedly be of public benefit by promoting these attempts and, upon principles of sound policy, I think ought to take place; but upon a little reflection you will perceive it will be little relief *to us*.

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GEORGE CABOT TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

BEVERLY, Sept. 6, 1791.

DEAR SIR:—Being absent from home when your letter of the 25th ultimo arrived, it has been out of my power to answer the inquiries it contains until this day's post. Almost four years have expired since a number of gentlemen in this place associated for the purpose of establishing a manufactory of cotton goods, of the kinds usually imported from Manchester, for men's wear. The various parts of this complex manufacture are performed by machines, some of which



are very intricate, and others delicate. A want of skill in constructing the machinery and of dexterity in using it, added to our want of a *general* knowledge of the business we had undertaken, have proved the principal impediments to its success.

Destitute of the necessary information ourselves, we were subject to be misled by every pretender to knowledge. A number of Europeans, chiefly Irish, have been successively employed by us; but as no one of them was master of any branch of the business, and most of them proved deficient in some quality essential to usefulness, one only has remained in our service.

Satisfied from experience that we must at last depend on the people of the country *alone* for a solid and permanent establishment, we have for a long time directed our efforts to their instruction, so that, of the forty persons now employed in our workshop, thirty-nine are natives of the vicinity.

Our machines are:—

1 carding-engine, which with the labor of 1 man, cards 15 lbs. per day, and with the labor of 2 men is capable of carding 30 lbs. per day.

9 spinning-jennies, of 60 to 84 spindles each.

1 doubling and twisting machine, constructed on the principle of the jenny.

1 slubbing-machine or coarse jenny, to prepare the ropings for the finest jennies, whereon they are fitted for doubling and twisting.

1 warping-mill sufficient to perform this part of the work for a very extensive manufactory.

16 looms with flying shuttles, 10 of which are sufficient to weave all the yarn our present spinners can finish.

2 cutting-frames, with knives, guides, &c.

1 burner and furnace, with apparatus to singe the goods.

Apparatus for coloring, drying, &c.

A summary of our accounts, lately exhibited by the managers, shows our actual expenditures to have been about \$14,000, against which may be placed,—buildings, &c,

worth as they cost, . . . . .	\$3,000
Machinery and apparatus now worth, . . . . .	2,000
Goods and unwrought materials, . . . . .	4,000
Sunk in waste of materials, extraordinary cost of first machines, in maintaining learners and compensating teachers, &c. . . . .	5,000
	<hr/>
	\$14,000

It should be noticed, however, that the Legislature of Massachusetts having granted aids in land and lottery tickets, that may amount to about \$4,000, the net loss to the proprietors may be estimated at

only \$10,000 actual money, and the interest on their advances for about two years.

At present, we manufacture at the rate of 8,000 to 10,000 yards per annum, worth in the market on an average three-sixths. These goods cost us three per cent, without adding anything for the use of that part of the capital which is constituted by buildings, machinery, and apparatus. If the proper allowance for rent and repair of these be added, it would raise the cost of the goods six per cent higher, which is indeed the true cost, and is equal to what they bring in the market. The enclosed specimens numbered 1 and 2 show the proficiency we had made two years ago; and by comparing with these the other specimens on the same paper, which were executed lately, may be readily seen the improvement we have made since that period.

With respect to our future prospects, they are less discouraging than they have been. We have subdued the greatest difficulties, and we shall not be exposed again to many extravagant charges which heretofore have swallowed up our funds without any reproduction. Many expenses, such as the rent of buildings, wages of the dyer, compensation to managers, and some others, will remain nearly the same, though the scale of business should be greatly increased; consequently, the proportion chargeable on each yard of goods will be lessened as the whole work extends. Beside, we are not without expectation of placing many parts of the work in private families, where we can avail ourselves of the cheapness of household labor. Our machinery has been bad and dear: it is now perfectly well made and cheap. Our artists have been learning their trades at our expense. Their work is now worth more than it costs; and, as they improve in skill and adroitness, we expect that they will perform more and better work for the same compensation.

On a comparison of the prices of labor in this country with those of Great Britain, we perceived that although the wages of *common labor* is much higher here, yet that of *artificers* is not. Here the demand for labor is chiefly for agriculture, and the wages seem to be regulated by it. There the mechanic arts afford so much employment that the demand for every species of skill and ingenuity is constant and high.

Hence it happens that we can satisfy our artists with wages very little above the common labor of the country, while those who come from Europe will not work without a much greater price. It is on considerations of this kind that our hopes principally rest, and with these ideas we shall proceed to extend our business as fast as we can train the laborers to the proper execution of the work. This, however, must be very slowly, as the heavy losses on ill-wrought goods discourage extension beyond a very limited ratio.

We have yet had no experience of the cotton of the Southern States; but it appeared early to be essential to our interest to use cotton of the longest fibre and the best cleaned. That of Cayenne, Surinam, and Demerara, has been preferred, though at a price two or three pence higher than the cotton of the islands. In proportion as our workers are awkward and unskilful is the necessity of furnishing the best materials. Bad materials would be wasted altogether. At present, we wish to have the cotton that grows nearest to the equator; but, when our spinners are more perfect, an inferior kind may perhaps be wrought with advantage. With the highest respect and esteem, I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

GEORGE CABOT.

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BOSTON, 27 JANUARY, '93.

HON. ROBERT S. RANTOUL:—

MY DEAR MR. RANTOUL: I wish I could help you in describing the old Beverly Factory Building. The lot I remember well. It came into my custody and ultimate ownership by marriage in 1832. But I had no previous knowledge of it, and never saw it, to my knowledge, before the building was burned. Somewhere, however, between 1835 and 1840 I delivered a lecture or address in one of the large Meeting Houses in Beverly. It was an Anniversary occasion of some sort, if I remember rightly, and I devoted myself to historical subjects. I said all that I could find to say about the first American Cotton Mill, of the site of which I had been the owner, . . . .

If that address were still extant, it might possibly help you. Possibly, some report or account of it may be found in some newspaper. Good old Caleb Foote would have been sure to notice anything of mine in the Gazette. . . . .

Yours, very truly,

ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

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10 WALNUT ST., BOSTON, 29 JANUARY, 1893.

DEAR RANTOUL:—My father suggested to me to run my eye over my Blanchard and Gardner papers for references to the Beverly mill.

Perhaps I ought to explain that my maternal great-grandfather, Samuel Blanchard, of Boston, married, in 1781, Elizabeth, daughter of John Gardner, of Salem, and after residing in various places finally pitched his tent in Wenham, which town he represented many years in the Mass. Gen. Court, and died there in 1813. My mother



was his only grandchild and from her Blanchard and Gardner relatives she eventually inherited various bits of real estate in Salem, Beverly, Wenham, Hamilton and Ipswich, including the Gardner (now Pingree) farm in Wenham to which she was much attached and where I spent some of the happiest days of my early childhood. As, however, the Beverly mill was burned down in 1828 and as my mother did not marry until 1832, neither my father nor I can remember how it looked. I find it repeatedly referred to in probate-accounts as "the factory estate, consisting of one large brick building and about five acres of land." I have a number of letters which passed between my great-grandfather Blanchard and his brother-in-law and partner, Samuel Pickering Gardner, in the latter part of the last century, but the "factory" is only once referred to and then only incidentally, nor do I find any reference to it in divers letters of the same period from my great-grandmother Blanchard to her uncle Col. Timothy Pickering. On the other hand, I find the enclosed plan of the "factory-lot," dated Nov. 1, 1813, in the handwriting of Mr. S. P. Gardner, who was then settling the S. Blanchard estate, together with a memorandum of his relating thereto. I hardly suppose these papers will be of any use to you or any one else; but if, by any chance, they should be considered to possess any permanent value, I am willing to give them to the Essex Institute. If not, you can return them at your convenience.

Regretting that I can discover nothing else, I am

Faithfully yours,

R. C. WINTHROP, JR.

HON. R. S. RANTOUL.

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The conjecture of Mr. Winthrop, Senior, as to finding some notice of his address in the Salem Gazette proves to be well founded. In the issue of that journal for December 22, 1837, occurs this notice:

"An address will be delivered before the Beverly Mechanic Association, by Robert C. Winthrop, Esq., of Boston, on Tuesday evening, the 26th inst., at 6 o'clock, in the Dane Street Meeting House. Citizens generally are respectfully invited to attend.

Per order of Committee,

Beverly, Dec. 22.

S. DIKE, *Sec'y.*"

And the Salem Gazette of January 2, 1838, prints a commendatory notice of the "annual address before the Beverly Mechanic Association," on the preceding Tuesday, delivered by Mr. Winthrop "before a large and attentive audience."

## WAY FROM SALEM FERRY TOWARDS IPSWICH.

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THE Humble Petion of y<sup>e</sup> felectmen of y<sup>e</sup> towne of Beverly on behalfe of fd towne to y<sup>e</sup> Honord Court of Quarterseffions now sitting in falem Humbly fhoweth that where as y<sup>e</sup> Countrey way that goeith from falem ferry towards Ipswich beeing formerly ordered by falem to goe beefore the houle of Insigne Dixey with provision that hee fd Dixey should keep the fame in sufficant repaire for Horfe and Cart as p<sup>r</sup> Record on falem Towne Book. but since the Decease of the abou sd cap Dixey his fucffefors refuse or neglect to keep said way in repaire the which wee humbly conceiue is there duty to doe solong as the way goes in that place but we Humbly Conceiue it would bee very unreasonabale to oblige our Towne to mainetaine the way in fd place it beeing not only very chargable but allfo very difcult to keep it in repaire our Humble petion to this Honord Court is that your Honours would please to settle fd way on the fame conditions as formerly ordred by falem or order a commity to come to view fd way and other placeses there about and to lay out the way in some other place the which wee cōceiue may be done to great advantage not only for the Towne but also for all persons Traveling that way for y<sup>e</sup> future. so hoping your Honours favourable construction wee take leave to subscribe your Honours most humble fervants.

December y<sup>e</sup> 30th 1698

William Rayment

Thomas Woodbercy

Sam<sup>ll</sup> Balch

Selectmen of Beverly.

## THE EARLY HOMES OF THE PURITANS.

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[A paper read, March 6, 1897, before the Local History Class of the Essex Institute.]

BY THOMAS FRANKLIN WATERS.

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### THE HOUSES.

PECULIAR pathos attaches to the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, when winter was already abroad, their hasty building of their humble homes, and the prolonged suffering from cold, scant food, and sickness until summer came. But the settlement of the towns of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Salem, Ipswich, and the rest, presents no such pitiful picture. To these points came an orderly migration of gentle folk and artisans, direct from their comfortable English homes, with much of their belongings, no doubt. The arrival of the ships that bore them was timed so well that they came upon our coast when the air was sweet with flowers and the fragrance of the wild strawberries. The long days of summer afforded them opportunity for building comfortable homes, and settling themselves into their new life, before the ordeal of winter came. In our thoughtlessness we banish hardship and suffering from the annals of this fortunate colony.

We are encouraged in this rosy dream of the first days by the reputed antiquity of many houses still remaining, wearing an air of comfort still, with their low, broad roofs, their huge chimney-stacks, suggestive of generous



fire-places within, their small windows, planned to admit a sufficiency of light and a modicum of cold, and their ample size. These ancient mansions, we are told, date from the very earliest years of the settlement, perchance even from the year of the founding of the town, and accepting the date with confiding credulity, straightway we build many similar edifices in our imagination, and house the daring pioneers very luxuriously.

The striking incongruity of such mansions as these, and the rough pioneer life in the unbroken wilderness, should be enough to make us skeptical. Any careful study of the historic data will effectually disprove the truth of this claim of age. No less than five ancient dwellings in old Ipswich have been declared by many to date from 1633 or 1634. I have made diligent research in our Town Records and at the Registry of Deeds and Wills, and have come to the conclusion that two of them were built about 1700, the third about 1670-1680, and in the case of the two others the disproof of the reputed ownership removes the presumption of an antiquity which is not suggested by their architecture.

We shall make much nearer approach to the truth in our ideal, we may presume, if we remember always that our forefathers were invading a wilderness, and that of necessity their first houses were small, rude, and quickly built, so that they might give their first summer chiefly to clearing the land of forest, and raising some crop to furnish their food for the long, cold winter.

Edward Johnson, in his "Wonder Working Providence," portrays the experiences that he had known personally, incident to these settlements. "After they have found out a place of abroad," he writes, "they burrow themselves in the earth for their first shelter, under some hill side, casting the earth aloft upon timber; they make a smoaky fire against the earth at the highest side, and

thus these poor servants of Christ provide shelter for themselves, their wives and little ones, keeping off the short showers from their lodgings, but the long rains penetrate through to their grate disturbance in the night season, yet in these poor wigwams they sing Psalms, pray, and praise their God, till they can provide them homes, which ordinarily was not wont to be with many till the Earth, by the Lord's blessing, brought forth bread to feed them, their wives and little ones."

Such a tale of woe may seem incredible to us. The skilled woodsman can build a summer camp impervious to rain, and full of comfort, in a few hours, with no other tool than his axe. I have a pleasant acquaintance with a Rangeley guide of long experience, who always amazes me with stories of the facility with which a warm and comfortable camp can be fashioned in the deep snow in the thick forests, when the cold is intense, and of the palatial comfort of the log-camp, chinked with moss, covered deeply with snow and warmed with a roaring fire.

But these ancient Puritans were not woodsmen. They were gentlemen in part, and weavers, tailors, blacksmiths, coopers, brickmakers, carpenters and farmers. What knew they of the cunning art of woodcraft? So, I trow, that not only their dug-out in the hill-side, but often their humble cabin, was not sufficient for comfortable warmth. Such was the experience of the Deputy Governor Thomas Dudley, who wrote from Cambridge in 1630. "I thought fit to commit to memory our present condition, and what hath befallen us since our arrival here, which I will do shortly, after my usual manner, and must do rudely, having yet no table, nor other room to write in than by the fireside, upon my knee, in this sharp winter, to which my family must have leave to resort though they break good manners, and make me many times forget what I would say, and say what I would not."



If there was such scant comfort in the homes of their gentry, what was the lot of the poorest? Rough, simple houses, they must have been. There were no mills to saw their lumber. Every board was sawed by the tedious toil of two sawyers, one working in a saw pit. Every joist was hewed four square with the axe, every nail, bolt, hinge and latch, was hammered out by the blacksmith on his anvil. Brick chimneys and shingled roofs were rare.

Our surmise as to the style of their dwelling is confirmed by indubitable record. Matthew Whipple lived on the corner of the present County and Summer streets, in Ipswich, near Miss Sarah Caldwell's present residence. In the inventory of his estate made in 1645, his dwelling house, barn and four acres of land, were appraised at £36, and six bullocks were valued at the same figure. His executors sold the dwelling with an acre of ground on the corner, in 1648, to Robert Whitman for £5. Whitman sold this property, and another house and lot, to William Duglass, cooper, for £22, in 1652. John Anniball, or Annable, bought the dwelling, barn, and two acres of land, on the eastern corner of Market and Summer streets, then called Annable's Lane, for £39, in 1647. Joseph Morse was a man of wealth and social standing. His inventory in 1646 mentions a house, land, etc., valued at £9, and another old house with barn and eight acres of land valued at £8, 10s. and one cow and a heifer, estimated at £6, 10s. Thomas Firman was a leading citizen. His house was appraised in the inventory at £15, and the house he had bought of John Proctor, with three acres of land, was estimated to be worth £18, 10s. Proctor's house was near the lower falls on County street, and his land included the estate now owned by Mr. Warren Boynton, Mr. Samuel N. Baker and others. Few deeds of sale or inventories mention houses of any considerable value in these earlier years.



Richard Scofield sold a house and two acres of land to Robert Roberts, in 1643, for £11, 17s. In 1649 John West sold John Woodman, for £13, a house and an acre of land, and another half acre near the Meeting House. Robert Whitman sold John Woodman a house near the Meeting House, for £7. In 1652, Richard Scofield, leather dresser, sold Moses Pengry, yeoman, a house and land, for £17, and Solomon Martin sold Thomas Lovell, currier, a house and lot near the present "Dodge's Corner," for £16. Rarely in these opening years, the appraised value of an estate mounted to £100. In 1646, this was the valuation of John Shatswell's. It included a "house, homestead, barn, cow house, orchard, yard, etc." Six oxen were appraised at £36, and five cows at £25, 0s. The average price received from the actual sale of houses was less than £25. Mr. John Whittingham had a house on High street containing kitchen and parlor, and chambers over the kitchen and parlor, sumptuously furnished, as the inventory records in 1648, and valued with the barn, cow house and forty-four acres of land, at £100.

The established value of a bullock seems to have been £6, and cows were appraised at about £5. A day's work of a team in drawing timber for the watch house, in 1645, was reckoned at 8 shillings, and in 1646, the inventory of the estate of Joseph Morse reveals the market prices of various commodities.

20 bushels of Indian corn were rated at	£2, 10s.
$\frac{1}{2}$ bushel of hemp seede,	- - - 2
6 small cheeses,	- - - 2
20 lbs. butter,	- - - 10

These prices fix the purchasing power of money at that period and make it certain that houses, that were quoted at £25 and less, were very simple and primitive.

Often, we may presume, they were log-houses.

Governor Winthrop records that Mr. Oldham had a small house near the wear at Watertown, made all of clap-boards. In his diary, under date of 1646, he mentions a "dreadful tempest at N. E. with wind and rain, in which the lady Moodye her house at Salem, being but one story in height, and a flat roof with a brick chimney in the midst, had the roof taken off in two parts (with the top of the chimney) and carried six or seven rods off."

Thatch was the common roof covering, and the chimneys were built of wood, well covered or "daubed," as the phrase was, with clay. Governor Winthrop mentions that Mr. Sharp's house in Boston took fire, in 1630 "(the splinters being not clayed at the top) and taking the thatch, burnt it down." Governor Dudley's account of the fire speaks of this and Colborn's house "as good and well furnished as most in the plantation."

Better houses began to be built at an early period. Winthrop records a violent S. S. E. storm on March 16, 1638. "It overthrew some new strong houses, but the Lord miraculously preserved old weak cottages."

Thomas Lechford, in his Note Book, preserves an interesting contract, made by John Davys, joiner, to build a house for William Rix, in 1640; it was to be "16 foot long and 14 feet wide, w'th a chamber floare finish't, summer and joysts, a cellar floare with joysts finish't, the roofe and walls clapboarded on the out syde, the chimney framed without daubing, to be done with hewan timber." The price was to be £21.

Houses of this dimension were common, as late as 1665. In that year such inroads had been made upon the oaks and other valuable trees, that the Town of Ipswich ordered the Selectmen to issue a permit before a tree could be cut. The certificates issued possess a curious interest.

Edmund Bridges was allowed timber "to make up his cellar," in 1667. In 1670, Joseph Goodhue received permit for a house 18 feet square, and Ephraim Fellows for a house 16 feet square. In 1671, Thomas Burnam's new house was 20 feet square, that of Obadiah Bridges 18 feet square, and Deacon Goodhue built one 16 feet square. In 1657, Alexander Knight, a helpless pauper, was provided with a house at the Town's expense, and the vote provided that it should be 16 feet long, 12 feet wide, 7 or 8 feet stud, with thatched roof, for which £6 was appropriated.

People of quality erected comfortable houses, no doubt, at a very early period. In 1638, Deputy Governor Symonds purchased the Argilla farm now owned by the heirs of the late Thomas Brown, and straightway planned the house, which was erected at once on the site still to be traced, not far from the present farm house. Such interest attaches to the explicit directions he gave Mr. Winthrop in a letter which remains to us, that I cannot forbear transcribing his exact words.

"I am indifferent whether it be 30 foote or 35 foote longe; 16 or 18 foote broad. I would have wood chimnyes at each end, the frames of the chimnyes to be stronger than ordinary, to beare good heavy load of clay for security against fire. You may let the chimnyes be all the breadth of the howse if you thinke good; the 2 lower dores to be in the middle of the howse, one opposite to the other. Be sure that all the dore waies in every place be soe high that any man may goe vpright vnder. The staiers I think had best be placed close by the dore. It makes noe great matter though there be noe particion upon the first flore; if there be, make one bigger then the other. For windowes let them not be over large in any rooms and as few as conveniently may be; let all have current shutting draw windows, haveing respect both to present & future vse. I think to make it a girt house will make it more chargeable then neede; however, the side bearers for the second story being to be loaden with corne etc. must not be pinned on, but rather eyther lett in to the studds or borne vp with false studds and soe tenented in at the ends. I leave it to you and the carpenters. In this story over the first, I



would have a particion, whether in the middest or over the particion under, I leave it.

In the garrett noe particion, but let there be one or two lucome [Lutheran?] windows, if two, both on one side. I desire to have the sparrs reach downe pretty deep at the eves to preserve the walls the better from the wether. I would have it sellered all over and soe the frame of the howse accordeingly from the bottom. I would have the howse stronge in timber, though plaine & well brased. I would have it covered with very good oake-hart inch board for the present, to be tacked on onely for the present, as you tould me. Let the frame begin from the bottom of the cellar & soe in the ordinary way vpright, for I can hereafter (to save the timber within ground) run up a thin brick worke without. I think it best to have the walls without to be all clap boarded besides the clay walls."

This stoutly built two-storied house, with its enormous fireplaces, as wide as the rooms, and its projecting eaves, must have been both picturesque and comfortable, though the interior arrangement was very simple. We can hardly believe that houses of this size and style were common at this period, though Rev. Nathaniel Rogers's manse, facing the South Green, had two full stories, and so had Mr. Whittingham's on High street. For the most part, these old Ipswich houses were small and rough in outward appearance, and the best and stateliest, innocent of paint, with small windows and diamond-shaped panes of glass, daubed with clay instead of plaster, were far removed from the most ancient style, with which we are familiar.

Here is a contract for the building of a pretty comfortable parsonage-house, in Beverly, "for the use of the ministrie on Cap An Side," as the record says, and the date of it is the 23: of March, 1656-1657.

The psents witnesseth a bargain maid betweene John norman of manchester the one partie: & Tho Lothrop & James patch the other ptyes for & in consideration of an house: that is to say. John norman is to build an house for them: which is to be thirtie eyght foote longe: 17: foote wide & a leuen foote studd, with three chimnies

towe below & one in the chamber he is also to finde boards & clapboards for the finishing the same with a single couering with a porch of eight foote square & Jotted ouer one foote ech way to lap the floores booth below & a boue & one garret chamber: & to make doores and windows: foure below and foure aboue & one in the stodie the said John is to make the stoaires & to drawe the clapboards & shoot their edges: & also to smooth the boards of one of the chamber flowres & he is to bring up the frame to the barre or the ferry att his owne charge.

& the said John norman is to haue for his worke fourtie flue pounds: to be paid in corne & cattell the one halfe att or before the house be raised & the other halve the next wheate haruist.

in witenesse heare of we haue sett down our hands.

witenesse

John norman

Tho: Lothrop.

#### A STUDY OF INTERIORS.

Within, these homes were for the most part very plain and simple. Governor Dudley's house in Cambridge was reputed to be over-elegant, so that Governor Winthrop wrote him: "He did not well to bestow such cost about wainscotting and adorning his house, in the beginning of a plantation, both in regard to the expense and the example." But Dudley was able to reply, that "it was for the warmth of his house, and the charge was but little, being but clap-boards, nailed to the wall in the form of wainscot." The common finish of the rooms of houses of the better sort was a coating of clay, over the frame timbers and the bricks which filled the spaces between the studs. The ceilings were frequently, if not universally, left unfinished, and the rough, unpainted beams and floor joists, and the flooring of the room above, blackened with the smoke and grimy with dust, were a sombre contrast to the white ceilings of the modern home. The living room of the ancient house of the Whipples, probably the oldest in our town, was not

lathed and plastered overhead until the boyhood of the present owner, yet the finely panelled wood-work of the side walls attests the excellence of the interior in its day. Paint and paper were unknown. Even whitewash was an invention of far later times.

Nevertheless, I incline to believe that if we could turn back the wheels of time and enter an early Ipswich home, we should find that it was not only habitable, but comfortable, and the furnishings much beyond our anticipation. For these yeomen and carpenters and weavers very likely had transported some of their furniture across the sea, and they reproduced here in the wilderness the living rooms of their old English homes.

Happily our curiosity may be gratified in very large degree by the numerous inventories that remain, and we may in imagination undertake a tour of calls in the old town, and see for ourselves what those houses contained. There were but two rooms on the main floor, the "hall" and the parlor, and entrance to them was made from the entry in the middle of the house. The "hall" of the old Puritan house, was the "kitchen" of a little later times. Indeed, these two words are used of the same apartment from the earliest record. It was the living room, the room where they cooked and ate and wrought and sat; in one home at least, that of Joseph Morse, a well-to-do settler, the room where his bed was set up, wherein he died in 1646.

The chief object in this family room was ever the fireplace, with its broad and generous hearth and chimney, ample enough to allow boys bent on mischief to drop a live calf from the roof, as they did one night, into poor old Mark Quilter's kitchen. As brick chimneys were not the rule at first, safety could be secured only by building their wooden chimneys, daubed with clay, abnormally



large. No wonder the worthy folk who wrote those inventories invariably began with the fireplace and its appurtenances. Piled high with logs, roaring and snapping, it sent forth most comfortable heat, and cast a warm glow over the plainest interior, and beautified the humblest home. "Here is good living for those that love good fires," Pastor Higginson wrote. Bare walls, rough, unfinished ceilings, floors without carpets or rugs, all took on an humble grace; privation and loneliness and homesickness could be forgotten, in the rich glow of the evening firelight.

Several pairs of andirons or cobirons were frequently used to support logs of different lengths. In one hall, at least, two pair of cobirons, and a third pair ornamented with brasses are mentioned. Within easy reach, were the bellows and tongs, the fire-pan for carrying hot coals, the "fire-fork" and "fire-iron," for use about the hearth, we presume.

Over the fire hung the trammel or coltrell, as it is called in one inventory, pot hooks, from the wooden or iron bar within the chimney that was supplanted by the crane in later times, and pots and kettles of copper, brass or iron, and of sizes, various. Some of these kettles must have been of prodigious size. Matthew Whipple had three brass pots that weighed sixty-eight pounds, and a copper that weighed forty pounds. The rich John Whittingham's kitchen, in his High street home, boasted a copper that was worth £3 10s, and Mr. Nelson of Rowley had "a great copper" that was inventoried at £10 sterling. The family washing, soap-making, candle-dipping and daily cookery, no doubt, required them all.

A copper baking-pan, a great brass pan, spits for roasts, iron dripping pans to catch the juices, gridirons and frying-pans, an iron peepe or shovel for the brick oven, a

trivet (a three-legged support for hot pans or pots, or irons), and the indispensable warming-pan, were common appendages of this central orb.

Lesser articles—skimmers, skillets and ladles, chafing dishes and posnets, smoothing irons and box irons that were heated from within, and sieves covered with hair-cloth or tiffany, were found as well. Upon the open shelves stood the rows of pewter plates or platters, and latten or brass ware, all bright and shining in the fire light, and upon nails,

“ The porringers that in a row  
Hung high and made a glittering show.”

Trenchers and trays and platters of wood were still common; “juggs” and leather bottles found place. Pewter salts, pots, bottles, spoons, cups and flagons, candlesticks of pewter or iron, spoons of silver or “alchimie,” an alloy of brass, were common.

The dresser or cupboard or shelf bore the books that were found in almost every family: “the great Bible” and smaller Bibles, the Psalm book, some sad volumes of Doctor Preston’s or Mr. Dike’s or Doctor Bifield’s theological writings, the “physike book” in one instance, and the silver bowl, or other cherished remnant of former luxury.

For furniture, there were tables and frames on which boards were laid and removed, forms or long settees, stools and cushions, but only a chair or two, for chairs were luxuries then.

Other clumsy things, that ought to have found place in barn or “leanto,” are mentioned so regularly in the list of hall or kitchen chattels, that we are compelled to think they were really there—the “chirne,” and powdering tub, as they called the great tub used for salting meats, barrels and keelers, cowles for water-carrying and pails, bucking



tubs for washing and buckets, beere vessels and sundry articles of unknown use, "earthen salts," "cheese-breads," "beekor balke," and "hayles."

Either those halls must have had extraordinary capacity for storage, or the occupants must have had scant room in many a house. Queer, confused rooms they must have been at best, in their furnishings and the multitude of employments continually going on, as suggested by the implements, the spinning and weaving, the sewing and knitting, the washing and ironing, cooking and brewing, butter and cheese-making. Their garnishings, too, were quaint. Strings of dried apples and corn, fat hams swinging in the smoke of the chimney and, grim and stern, the ever present fire-arms, ready for use at a moment's warning. The briefest inventory includes these.

Matthew Whipple's "hall," on the corner of Summer and County streets, must have been a veritable arsenal. Upon its walls hung three muskets, three pair bandoleers, three swords, and two rests, or crotched sticks, in which the long heavy musket barrel was rested while aim was taken, a fowling piece, a "costlett," or armor for the breast, a pike and sword, a rapier, a halberd and bill. In John Knowlton's "hall," we should have found a musket, bandoleers, rest, knapsack, moulds and scourer. John Lee, the owner of the land still known as Lee's, or Leigh's meadow, on the Argilla road, had a sword and belt, pistols and holster, and Luke Heard owned a "pistolett." Head pieces and corselets were not uncommon. John Winthrop's kitchen may have been a depot of supply, for it contained fourteen muskets, rests and bandoleers.

The frequent mention of candlesticks suggests that candles were in common use in these first Ipswich homes, yet a more primitive method was common in the poorer families at least.



Higginson tells us how the Salem houses were lighted, at the beginning of the settlement. "Although New England have no tallow to make candles of, yet by the abundance of the fish thereof, it can afford oil for lamps. Yea, our pine trees that are the most plentiful of all wood, doth allow us plenty of candles, which are very useful in a house. And they are such candles as the Indians commonly use, having no other, and they are nothing else but the wood of the pine tree, cloven in two little slices, something thin, which are so full of the moisture of turpentine and pitch, that they burn as cleere as a torch." "Candlewood," is the name of a fine farm district of our town to-day. It assures us that the Ipswich planters knew the value of the fat pine strips. "Old lamps," are sometimes mentioned, perhaps the open iron or tin cup with a wick lying over one side fed with fish oil, or lamps brought with their household goods.

The frugality of the early living is frequently remarked on. Felt says, "For more than a century and a half, the most of them had pea and bean porridge, or broth, made of the liquor of boiled salt meat and pork, and mixed with meal, and sometimes hasty pudding and milk, both morning and evening." But those great spits (Matthew Whipple had four that weighed together twenty pounds), brass baking pans and dripping pans, kettles and pots, gridirons, frying pans and skillets, tell of more appetizing fare.

The cattle in the stalls and the abounding game in forest and sea, furnished the material for substantial and generous living for the great majority, we will believe. Yet the best-spread table would have looked strange to us. Wooden plates, sometimes a square bit of wood, slightly hollowed or perfectly plain, and platters for the central dish, at best dishes and plates of bright pewter; no forks,

for forks did not attain common use till the latter years of the century; no coffee or tea, but plenty of home-brewed beer and cider and stronger spirits for drinks,—these things seem rude in style and deficient in comfort.

In the parlor, or "the fine-room," surprises await us as well. Like the hall, it had its fireplace, and its goodly array of hearth furniture, but its furnishings were rarely elegant. The most conspicuous article, even in the homes of rich men, like Matthew Whipple and John Whittingham, was the best bed, of imposing size and stately elegance, with its curtains and valance, or half curtain, that hung from the cross pieces to the floor, and is still in use with ancient bedsteads,—fitted most luxuriously with a mat upon the cords, and with beds that awake our envy. Matthew Whipple's best feather bed, bolster and nine pillows weighed one hundred and six pounds, and were valued at £5-6-0. Mr. Whittingham's parlor bed and furnishings were worth £12-0-0, Thomas Barker's of Rowley, £13-0-0. What an amount of "solid comfort" is represented by an hundred weight of feathers with a warming pan, in those bleak Puritan winters!

The furnishings were ample. Mine host Lumpkin, one of the earliest inn-keepers, had 2 flock beds and 2 bolsters, in addition to the feather bed; also five blankets, one rug and one coverlet. Strangely enough, a rug or carpet was a bed furnishing and not a floor covering and mention remains of a rug for the baby's cradle.

In John Jackson's house, close by the present Methodist meeting-house, was "a half-headed bedstead," that rejoiced in "an old dornix coverlet," and it had "a side bed for a child." Lionel Chute, the schoolmaster, in his East street home, had an "old damakell coverlet." Thomas Firman had "damicle curtaynes and vallens." A trundle bed was common. Beside the bed were a table,



a "joyned table," as it is called, made with turned legs, and "joyned stools," few chairs, but plenty of cushions, and a "cushen stoole" occasionally. Whittingham's parlor had eleven curtains, and its two windows were adorned with curtains and curtain rods, one of the few instances mentioned of which I am at present aware.

In the parlor, too, were the chests, the common strong boxes in which they brought their goods and the more elaborate ones for storage of bedding and table linen. One chest in Whipple's parlor was furnished with a glass and there were three simpler ones. These chests were highly prized by their owners, and they were important pieces of furniture when the closet and modern bureaus and chiffoniers had not yet found place. Lionel Chute mentions in his will, "all things in my chest, and white deep box with the locke and key." We read of great chests and small chests, long boarded chests, great boarded chests and John Knowlton's "chest with a drawer:" also of trunks and boxes. Robert Mussey bequeathed his daughter Mary in 1642 his home, adjoining that of John Dane the elder, "in the West street in the town," also "my best Bible," "a great brass pan to be reserved for her until she comes of years," and "the broad box with all her mother's wearing linen."

The "cubbered" as it was spelled, was common, and it bore a "cubberd clothe" "laced" or "fringed."

In some of the finest houses there was a clock, valued at £1 in Matthew Whipple's, £2 in Thomas Nelson's of Rowley. In Whipple's parlor, too, there was "a staniell bearing cloth;" and a "baize bearing cloth." This was used, it has been affirmed, for wrapping babies, when carried to baptism, and Puritan babies invariably went to church on the first Sunday after birth. On January 22, 1694, Judge Sewall records—"A very extraordinary



storm by reason of the falling and driving of the snow. Few women could get to meeting. A child named Alexander was baptized in the afternoon." I fancy that many wee new-born children were taken to the Elder's hospitable fireside, before and after the baptism in the icy cold meeting house, and those bearing cloths may have been a kind of public property, and often seen in the first house of worship, for Whipple died the year the old house was sold, 1646.

The family still for extracting the fragrant oil from rose leaves and the medicinal virtues from roots and herbs found place in the stately Whittingham parlor; and in Giles Badger's of Newbury there were a "a glass bowl, beaker and jugg," the only suggestion of toilet convenience which I remember. A case of glass bottles now and then is mentioned.

But of pictures for the wall and carpets for the floor, and the ornaments now deemed essential for parlor adornings, there were few. The finest Puritan parlor of these early days was only a primitive best bed-room. Indeed, it was not always a spare room. Joseph Morse, whose will was probated in 1646, bequeathed his son John "the bed and all y<sup>e</sup> bedding he lyeth on, standing in the parlor."

Above stairs the sleeping apartments of the family were found. For the most part, they were cold and cheerless, mere lofts, as the houses were of one story. In one house at least, in Rowley, the floor boards were laid so loosely that a person above could look down through the cracks and see whatever was occurring below, as a witness testified before the court. If such wide spacing was common the heat from the hall fire would have made the "chamber over the kitchen" the coveted room.

But Mr. Whittingham's house had a set of fire irons in the chamber over the parlor, and this excess of dignity betokens not only more of comfort than fell to the common lot, but a larger house, with two full stories, as the fittings of the room indicate as well,—an interesting item architecturally, since Mr. Whittingham died in 1648.

The contents of that chamber are so interesting that they deserve a full record as showing how much of luxury even was found in the better class of Ipswich houses of this early period.

"A bedstead, two fether beds, curtains, rugg, etc."	£13- 0-0
"One fether bed, one boulster, two quilts, two pair blankets, one coverlet, and trundlebed,"	6- 0-0
"Four trunks, one chest, one box, two chairs, four stools, two small trunks,"	3- 5-0
"9 pieces of plate, 11 spoons	25- 0-0
"10 pr. sheets, £8    ten others £4	12- 0-0
"3 pr. pillow beers                      8s	1- 4-0
"3    "                      "                      5s	15-0
"Four table cloths	2-10-0
"1 doz. diaper, 2 doz. flaxen napkins	1-10-0
"2 doz. of napkins	12-0
"the hangings in the chamber,"	1-10-0
"3 holland cupboard cloths"	2- 4-0
2 half sheetes	1-10-0
1 diaper and damask cupboard cloth	1- 0-0
one screene	10-0
2 pair cob-irons, 1 pr. tongs	15-0
one carpett	3-10-0
"one pair curtains and vallance	5- 0-0
"one blew coverlet,"	1- 0-0

This was a regal room for the times, with its carpet and screen, its hangings upon the walls, its rich store of family silver, and its sumptuous beds and bed linen. Think of twenty pairs of sheets, all spun and woven by hand, and a single bedstead with its belongings, worth 13 pounds sterling, more than twice the whole value of some

of the dwellings of that day! But Shakespeare's will specified the "second best bed" for his wife's portion — and extraordinary value commonly attached to these high posted, canopied, curtained structures. Yet this room had no looking glass nor toilet articles, nor bureau nor case of drawers.

In the other chamber we find a variety of miscellaneous articles besides the beds and bedding, a saddle, rolls of canvas of different value, 10 yds. of French serge, 6 yds. of carpeting, remnants of holland and a valuable assortment of wearing apparel, worth £22, unfortunately for our information, with no mention of garments in detail.

In Matthew Whipple's chamber, there were 7 children's blankets, and a pillion cloth and foot stool. At Joseph Morse's, the chamber was a store room, where were deposited, as we have mentioned :

20 bushels Indian corn	£2- 10-0
mault	
half bushel hemp seede	2-0
6 small cheeses	2-0
20 pounds butter	10-0
"hemp drest and undrest."	10-0

One other fine interior must be noted — that of Nathaniel Rogers — pastor of the church from June, 1636, to 1655, whose residence stood very near the old Baker house, so called, fronting on the South Green, and whose house lot reached down to the River, and was bounded by Mr. Saltonstall's property on the S. W. and Isaac Com-  
ing's on the N. E.

Mr. Rogers died in 1655 leaving an estate, real and personal, valued at £1497, a princely fortune in those days. His hall contained a small cistern, with other implements, valued at 17s. (this was an urn, probably of



pewter, for holding water and wine, and the "other implements" were wine-glasses perhaps), two Spanish platters, of earthen or china ware, very rare at that time, a chest and hanging cupboard, a round table with five joined stools, six chairs and five cushions. Evidently this was a dining room, for the kitchen was a separate room, with an elaborate set of pewter dishes, flagons and the like that weighed a hundred and fifty pounds, and the usual paraphernalia of cooking utensils including a "jacke" for turning the spit.

The parlor contained some rare articles, a great chair, two pictures, a livery cupboard, a clock and other implements worth three pounds, window curtains and rods, and the one solitary musical instrument in all the town, so far as early inventories show, "a treble violl," by which is meant, it may be supposed, a violin. Yet this elegant room had a canopy bed and down pillows.

The chamber furnishings were exceptionally fine. Its bed and bedding were valued at £14-10-0. A single "perpetuanny coverlet" was appraised at £1-05-0. There was a gilt looking glass, a "childing wicker basket" for the babies' toilet, perhaps, a table basket, and a sumptuous store of linen. A single suit of diaper table linen was reckoned at £4, two pair of holland sheets at £3-10s., five fine pillow-beeres or cases, £1-15s., and goods brought from Old England worth over twenty pounds.

In the chamber over the hall were a yellow rug, a couch, silver plate worth £35-18s., and the only watch I have ever found mentioned, valued at £4, in addition to the common furniture.

The study gloried in a library worth £100-0-0, an extraordinary collection of books, revealing scholarly tastes as well as a plethoric purse, a cabinet, a desk and two chairs, and a pair of creepers or little fire irons.

In contrast with the comfort and luxury of these fine homes, "the short and simple annals of the poor" would be of deep interest. Unfortunately for us, as well as for the humble folk themselves, who dwelt in houses sixteen and eighteen feet square, their belongings were so few and cheap that an inventory seemed superfluous, and we are left largely to our own surmising as to how they lived. One glimpse into the humbler sort of home is permitted us in the inventory of William Averill. His will was entered in 1652. He gives to each of his seven children the sum of five shillings, "for my outward estate being but small." In his inventory his house and lot were appraised at £10, and the furnishings enumerated are :

1 iron pott, 1 brass pott, 1 frying pan, 4 pewter platters 1 flagon, 1 iron kettle, 1 brass kettle, 1 copper, 1 brass pan, and some other small things,	£2-17-0
2 chests, 1 fether bed, 1 other bed, 2 pair of sheets, 2 bolsters, 3 pillows, 2 blankets, 1 coverlid, 1 bedstead, and other small linen,	5-10-0
2 coats and wearing apparel	3- 0-0
a warming pan	3-0
a tub, 2 pails, a few books	10-0
a corslett	1- 0-0

The total of house, land, cattle and goods being £50.

He was not desperately poor then, but his circumstances were somewhat narrow. His family numbered nine souls, yet they had but one bedstead, and beds and bedding only adequate for this, and four pewter platters for the daily meals. How these nine Averills ate and slept would be an entertaining story, and a reproof to much discontent.

In Coffin's History of Newbury I find the following, under the date 1657: "Steven Dow did acknowledge to him it was a good while before he could eate his masters food viz. meate and milk, or drinke beer, saying he did

not know it was good, because he was not used to eat such victuall, but to eate bread and water porridge, and to drink water." No doubt many a family of the poorer sort lived as frugally as he.

The house of John Winthrop, jun., who led the little band of settlers to our town in 1633, is the most interesting of the earliest homes. "An Inventorie of Mr. Winthropps goods of Ipswitch," made by William Clerk, about the year 1636, while Mr. Winthrop was in England, has recently come into the possession of the Historical Society. Thanks to the carefulness of the ancient recorder, we know the contents of every room, and we find far less of luxury than Mr. Rogers enjoyed. Indeed, the humblest of his fellow-citizens might have felt at home in the unpretentious domicile of the excellent young leader. The inventory was made at so early a date, moreover, that it gives us certain knowledge of the rooms and their furnishings of one of the original houses, it is safe to presume.

Imp<sup>rs</sup>; In the Cham<sup>r</sup> ov<sup>r</sup> the Parlor 1 feath<sup>r</sup> bed 1 banckett  
1 cov<sup>r</sup>lett 1 blew rugg 1 boster & 2 pillowes.

trunk marked wih R. W. F. wherein is

1 mantle of silk wth gld lace

1 holland tablecloth some 3 yards loun

1 pr. SSS holl [twilled holland?] sheets

1 pillo bear half full of childs linning, etc.

5 childs blanketts whereof one is bare million

1 cushion for a child of chamlett

1 cours table cloth 3 yards long

6 cros cloths and 2 gnives?

9 childs bedds 2 duple clouts 1 p<sup>r</sup> holl sleeves

4 apons whereof 1 is laced

2 smocks 2 pr sheets 1 napkin

1 whit square chest wherein is

1 doz. dyp. [diaper?] napkins 1 damsk napkin

1 doz. holl napkins

2 doz. & 2 napkins



2 cuberd cloths  
 11 pillow beares  
 11 SSS napkins  
 2 table cloths  
 4 towills  
 1 SSS holl shirt  
 2 dyp towills  
 3 dyp table cloths  
 1 pr SSS holl sheets  
     1 long great chest where in is  
 1 black gowne tam'y  
 1 gowne sea greene  
 1 childs basket  
 2 old petticotts 1 red 1 sand coll<sup>r</sup> serg  
 1 pr leath<sup>r</sup> stockins 1 muff  
 1 window cushion  
 5 quishion cases 1 small pillowe  
 1 peece stript linsy woolsy  
 1 pr boddyes  
 1 tapstry cov<sup>r</sup>lett  
 1 peece lininge stuff for curtins  
 1 red bayes cloake for a woman  
 1 pr of sheets

### In the Cham<sup>r</sup> ov<sup>r</sup> the kychin

1 feath<sup>r</sup> bed 1 boster 1 pillowe 2 blanketts  
 2 ruggs bl. & w<sup>t</sup>  
 2 floq bedds 5 ruggs 2 bolsters 1 pillowe  
 1 broken warming pan

### In the Garrett Cham<sup>r</sup> ov<sup>r</sup> the Storehouse

many small things glasses, potts etc.

### In the Parlor

1 bedsted 1 trundle bedsted w<sup>th</sup> curtains & vallences  
 1 table & 6 stooles  
 1 muskett, 1 small fowleing peece w<sup>th</sup> rest and bandeleer  
 # 1 trunk of pewter  
 # 1 cabbinett, wherin the servants say is  
 rungs [rings?] iewills 13 sil<sup>r</sup> spoones this I cannot open  
 # 1 cabbinett of Surgerie

### In the kyttchin

1 brass baking pan  
 5 milk pans

1 small pestle & mortar  
 1 steele mill  
 14 muskets, rests & bandeleers  
 2 iron kettles 2 copp<sup>r</sup> 1 brasse kettle  
 1 iron pott  
 2 bl jacks  
 2 skillitts whereof one is brasse  
 4 porringors  
 1 spitt 1 grat<sup>r</sup>  
 1 p<sup>r</sup> racks 1 p<sup>r</sup> andirnes 1 old iron rack  
 1 iron pole 1 grediron 1 p<sup>r</sup> tongs  
 2 brass ladles 1 pr bellowes  
 2 stills w<sup>th</sup> bottums

### In M<sup>r</sup> Wards hands

1 silv<sup>r</sup> cupp 6 spoones 1 salt of silver

### In the ware howse

2 great chests naled upp  
 1 chest 1 trunk w<sup>ch</sup> I had ord<sup>r</sup> not to open  
 1 chest of tooles  
 # 6 cowes 6 steeres 2 heiffers  
 # dyv<sup>rs</sup> peeces of iron and steele

Mr. Winthrop's wife and infant daughter had died not long before, and a pathetic interest attaches to the contents of the chests. The trundle bed in the parlor would indicate that this had been the family sleeping room. Evidently there were but four rooms and the house we can easily imagine was small and unassuming.

### HOW THEY DRESSED.

A demure Puritan simplicity, we may think, characterized the dress of our forefathers. Life in the wilderness may seem to harmonize only with coarse and cheap attire, for an age of homespun logically admitted of no finery. Such preconceptions are wide of the truth. Puritan principle required a protest against current fashion as against religious and social usages; but the elegance and

expensiveness of both male and female dress in Old England had been so great that a goodly degree of reaction and repression could find place and yet leave no small remnant of goodly and gay attire. Not a few of those men and women of old Ipswich came from homes of luxury,—Dudley and Bradstreet from the castle home of the Earl of Lincoln; Saltonstall from contact with the nobility in his knightly father's house; Winthrop and Whittingham from fine family connections. Many fair English costumes found place in their chests and strong boxes that came over the seas, and the plain houses and plainer meeting-house were radiant, on Sabbath days and high days, with bright colors and fine fabrics.

The common dress of men was far more showy than the fashion of to-day. A loose fitting coat, called a doublet, reached a little below the hips. Beneath this, a long, full waistcoat was worn. Baggy trousers were met just below the knee by long stockings, which were held in place by garters, tied with a bow-knot at the side. About the neck, a "falling band" found place, a broad, white collar, that appears in all pictures of the time; and a hat with conical crown and broad brim completed the best attire. A great cloak or heavy long coat secured warmth in winter. Their garments were of various material and color. Unfortunately, wearing apparel is usually mentioned in the bulk in inventories; but occasional specifications afford us an idea of the best raiment.

Mention is made of "a large blew cote" and "a large white coat;" of a fine "purple cloth sute, doublett and hose" belonging to John Goffe or Goss of Newbury, who also had a short coat, a pair of lead-colored breeches, a green doublett, a cloth doublett, a leather doublett, also leather and woolen stockings, two hats and a cloth cap. The men generally had their rough suits of leather and



homespun for the farm work, and the delicate clothing for special occasions. So we find musk-colored broadcloth and damson-colored cloth, cloth grass-green, blue waistcoats and green waistcoats, cloth hose, and hose of leather and woolen stuff, boots and shoes, black hats, home-made caps, gloves, silver buttons, of which John Cross owned three dozen and one, and sometimes a gown.

Of the ladies' wardrobe, I am loth to speak. Certain popular pictures of Priscilla at her spinning, and sweet Puritan maidens watching the departure of the Mayflower, have pleased our fancy, and forthwith we clothe the women of the days of old in quaker-like caps and dresses, graceful in their simplicity,—nun-like garbs, over which Dame Fashion had no tyranny. But the truth must be told.

Widow Jane Kenning, who lived near the corner of Loney's Lane, had for her best array, "a cloth gowne," worth £2 5s., "a serge gown" valued at £2, "a red petticoat with two laces," appraised at a pound sterling, and lesser ones of serge and paragon, a cloth waistcoat and a linsey woolsey apron. That "cloth waistcoat" was no mean affair, I judge. The lawyer, Thomas Lechford of Boston, who indulged in a silver-laced coat and a gold-wrought cap for himself, records: "Received of Mr. Geo. Story, four yards and half a quarter of tuft holland to make my wife a wastcoate at 2s. 8d. a yard." Widow Kenning's was worth 8s. Lechford also enters under date 1640, Feb. 1: "I pay'd John Hurd [a tailor in Boston], delivered to his wife by Sara our mayd, for making my wife's gown, 8s." "Tailor made" dresses are not a modern invention, then, and if Boston dames were patrons of tailors, the ladies of aristocratic Ipswich were not a whit behind.

For common wear, blue linen, lockram or coarse linen,

linsey-woolsey, mohair, a mixture of linen and wool, and holland were the common materials.

Dame Eliz. Lowle of Newbury had her riding suit and muff, silver bodkins and gold rings. Some interesting letters to Madame Rebekah Symonds, widow of the Deputy Governor, from her son by a former marriage in London, in the Antiquarian papers, reveal these wardrobe secrets. He wrote in 1664 of sending his mother a "flower satin mantle lined with sarsnet, £1 10s., a silver clasp for it 2s. 6d., cinnamon taffity 15s., two Cambrick whisks with two pare of cuffs £1 " also, in the same ship, "a lightblew blanket, 200 pins, 1  $\frac{1}{2}$  yards chamlet, also Dod on the Commandments (bound in green plush), also a pair of wedding gloves, and my grandmother's funeral ring." In 1673, he sent "one ell  $\frac{1}{2}$  of fine bag Holland, 2 yds.  $\frac{1}{3}$  of lute-string, a Lawn whiske, wool cards one paire, a Heath Brush, 2 Ivorie Combe, ye bord box rest. "

In her sixtieth year Madam Symonds, keenly alive to the demands of fashion, had written her son for a fashionable Lawn whiske; but he, anxious to gratify her, yet desirous as well that his mother should be dressed in strict accord with London fashion, replied that the "fashionable Lawn whiske is not now worn, either by Gentil or simple, young or old. Instead whereof I have bought a shape and ruffles, which is now the ware of the gravest as well as the young ones. Such as goe not with naked necks ware a black wifle over it. Therefore I have not only Bought a plaine one yt you sent for, but also a Lustre one, such as are most in Fashion."

She had sent for damson-colored Spanish leather for women's shoes. This, he informed her was wholly out of style and use, and "as to the feathered fan, I should also have found in my heart, to have let it alone, because none but very grave persons (and of them very few) use it.

That now 'tis grown almost as obsolete as Russets, and more rare to be seen than a yellow hood."

Nevertheless, to please the exacting leader of the Ipswich ton, he sent, with ten yards of silk, and two yards of Lustre "a feather fan and silver handle, two tortois fans, 200 needles, 5 yds. sky calico, silver gimp, black sarindin cloak, damson leather skin, two women's Ivorie knives, etc."

Madame Symonds was no more addicted to the uttermost extreme of fashion than were the women of the first years of the settlement and the men themselves, we must confess. It is one of the anomalies of history that the most religious of all people, as we have come to think them, the Sabbath-keeping, church-going Puritans, should have been so far in thralldom to the world, the flesh and the devil, that they were guilty of frivolous excess in aping the fashions of the mother-land. But so it was.

In 1634, the love of fine clothes was so notorious, that the General Court felt constrained to lament "the greate supfluous, and unnecessary expences occaconed by reason of some newe and immodest fashions, as also the ordinary wearing of silver, golde and silk laces, girdles, hat-bands, etc." and ordered forthwith that no person, either man or woman, "shall hereafter make or buy an *appell* either woollen, silke or lynnene, with any lace in it, silver, golde, silke or threade," under penalty of forfeiture of such clothes — "also noe pson, either man or woman, shall make or buy any slashed cloathes, other than one slash in each sleeve and another in the backes; also all cut-works, imbroidered or needle worke, cappes, bands and rayles, are forbidden hereafter to be made or worn, under the aforesaid penalty." Apparel already in use might be worn out, but the immoderate great sleeves, slashed apparel, immoderate great "rayles," long



wings, etc., were to be curtailed and remodelled more modestly at once.

In 1639, when our town had been gathering strength five years, the fiat again went forth against "women's sleeves more than half an ell wide in the widest place, immoderate great breches, knots of ryban, broad shoulder bands, and rayles, silk roses, double ruffles and cuffes, etc." Sleeves were a target for Shakespeare's wit.

"What, this a sleeve?

There's snip, and nip, and cut and slish and slash,  
Like to a censor in a barber's shop."

No doubt the women of Ipswich needed admonition in these particulars, and some of the men most likely walked abroad with their doublet sleeves slashed to display the fine linen shirt sleeves beneath, with too large trousers and knots of ribbon in their shoes, or wearing boots with flaring tops, nearly as large as the brim of a hat, very conspicuous, if made of "white russet" leather, as Edward Skinner's in 1641. Perchance they dared to wear their hair below the ears, and falling upon the neck. The English Roundhead with short, cropped hair, in obedience to Paul's injunction, was the ideal of the sterner Puritans of our Colony, but there was from the beginning a persistent determination by some of the more frivolous sort, to wear long hair. Higginson jocosely discovered the origin of the fashion in the long lock worn by Indian braves. The General Court set its face as a flint against this in 1634. It was a burning theme of pulpit address, and the clergy prescribed that the hair should by no means lie over the band or doublet collar, but might grow a little below the ear in winter for warmth.

Nath. Ward, in his *Simple Cobbler*, dispensed wisdom: "If it be thought no wisdome in men to distinguish themselves in the field by the Scissers, let it be thought no

injustice in God not to distinguish them by the sword," and "I am sure men use not to wear such manes." It was derisively suggested that long nails like Nebuchadnezzar's would be next in Fashion.

Rev. Ezekiel Rogers of Rowley was so bitter in his detestation of the habit that he cut off his nephew from his inheritance because of his persistence; and in his Election sermon before the General Court, he assailed long hair with fiery zeal.

So enormous was the offence that on May 10, 1649, Governor Endicott, Deputy Governor Dudley and seven of the Assistants thus declared themselves: "Forasmuch as the wearing of long hair after the manner of ruffians and barbarous Indians has begun to invade New England, contrary to the rule of God's word, which says it is a shame for a man to wear long hair, etc., We, the magistrates, who have subscribed this paper, (for the shewing of our own innocency in this behalf) do declare and manifest our dislike and detestation against the wearing of such long hair, as against a thing uncivil and unmanly, whereby men doe deforme themselves, and offend sober and modest men, and doe corrupt good manners. We doe, therefore, earnestly entreat all the elders of this jurisdiction (as often as they shall see cause to manifest their zeal against it in their public administration) to take care that the members of their respective churches be not defiled therewith; that so such as shall prove obstinate and will not reforme themselves, may have God and man to witness against them."

Some gay-plumed ladies of his Ipswich church may have been in his mind, when grim Mr. Ward discharged himself of his ill-humor against the sex, affirming "When I heare a nugiperous Gentle-dame inquire what dress the Queen is in this week, what the nudius tertian of

the Court, I look at her as the very gizzard of a trifle, the product of a quarter of a cypher, the Epitome of nothing, fitter to be kickt, if she were of a kickable substance, than either honored or humored."

"To speak moderately, I truly confess it is beyond the ken of my understanding to conceive, how those women should have any true grace or valuable vertue, that have so little wit as to disfigure themselves with such exotick garbs, as not only dismantles their native lovely lustre, but transclouts them into gant bar-geese, ill-shapen, shotten shell-fish, Egyptian hieroglyphics, or at the best into French flurts of the pastry, which a proper English woman should scorn with her heels. It is no marvel they wear drailes on the hinder part of their heads, having nothing as it seems in the fore-part but a few Squirrel brains to help them frisk from one ill-favor'd fortune to another."

His indignation against tailors for lending their art to clothe women in French fashions was intense: "It is a more common than convenient saying that nine Taylors make a man; it were well if nineteene could make a woman to her minde; if Taylors were men indeed, well furnished but with meer morall principles, they would disdain to be led about like apes, by such mimick Marmosets. It is a most unworthy thing for men that have bones in them to spend their lives in making fidle-cases for futilous women's phansies; which are the very petti-toes of infirmity, the gyblets of perquisquilian toys."

Ridicule, precept and statute law were alike powerless to check this over-elegance. Again in 1651, the General Court repeated its "greife . . . that intollerable excesse and bravery hath crept in upon us, and especially amongst people of meane condition, to the dishonor of God, the scandall of its professors, the consumption of estates, and



altogether unsuteable to our povertie." Hence it proceeded to declare its "utter detestation and dislike that men or women of mean condition, educations and callings should take upon them the garb of gentlemen by the wearing of gold and silver lace, or buttons, or poynts at their knees, to walke in greate bootes, or women of the same ranke to wear silke or tiffany hoodes or scarfes, which though allowable to persons of greater estate or more liberal education, yet we cannot but judge intollerable in person of such like condition."

So, at last, it was ordered that no person whose visible estate did not exceed £200 should wear such buttons or gold or silver lace, or any bone lace above 2s. per yard or silk hoods or scarfs, upon penalty of 10s. for each offence. Magistrates and their families, military officers, soldiers in time of service, or any whose education or employments were above the ordinary were excepted from the operation of this law.

The judicial powers were in grim earnest, and at the March term of the Quarter Sessions Court, in Ipswich, some of her gentle folk felt the power of the law.

Ruth Haffield, daughter of the widow whose farm was near the bridge, still called "Haffield's," was "presented" as the legal phrase is, for excess in apparel, but upon the affidavit of Richard Coy, that her mother was worth £200 she was discharged. George Palmer was fined 10s. and fees for wearing silver lace. Samuel Brocklebank, taxed with the same offence, was discharged. The wife of John Hutchings was called to account shortly after for wearing a silk hood, but she proved that she had been brought up above the ordinary rank and was discharged. John Whipple made it evident that he was worth the requisite £200 and his good wife escaped. Anthony Potter, Richard Brabrook, Thomas Harris, Thomas Maybe

and Edward Brown were all called upon to justify their wives' finery.

In 1659 the daughter of Humphrey Griffin presumed to indulge in a silk scarf, and her father was fined 10s. and court fees. John Kimball was able to prove his pecuniary ability and his wife wore her silk scarf henceforth unquestioned. As late as 1675, Arthur Abbott, who is mentioned as the bearer of fine dress goods from Madame Symonds' son in London, and who very naturally may have brought his good wife some finery from the London stores, was obliged to pay his 10s. for his wife's public wearing of a silk hood. Benedict Pulcifer for his wife, Haniell Bosworth for his two daughters, John Kindrick, Thomas Knowlton and Obadiah Bridges for their wives' over dress, were called to account before judge and jury.

The middle of the century found one of the most whimsical and extraordinary fashions in vogue in England, and New England was infected as well, we presume. Ladies decorated their faces with court-plaster, cut in fantastic shapes. Bulwer, in his "Artificial Changeling," published in 1650, in England, speaking of these patches says "some fill their visage full of them," and he describes the shapes one fine lady delighted to wear: "a coach with a coachman and two horses with postilions on her forehead, a crescent under each eye, a star on one side of her mouth, a plain circular patch on her chin."

In "Wit Restored," a poem printed in 1658:

"Her patches are of every cut  
For pimples and for scars;  
Here's all the wandering planets' signs  
And some of the fixed stars,  
Already gummed to make them stick.  
They need no other sky."

As the century waned, the offence of wearing long hair paled into insignificance beside the unspeakable sin of

wearing wigs. Happily, or unhappily, as the point of view varies, the ministers could not agree in this. The portrait of Rev. John Wilson, of Boston, who died in 1667, presents him wearing a full wig, and many of the clergy were addicted to the same head-gear; but public sentiment was strong against the fashion, and the General Court in 1675, condemned "the practise of men's wearing their own or other's hair made into periwigs." Judge Sewall alludes to the hated custom with spiteful brevity in his Diary.

"1685—Sept. 15. Three admitted to the church. Two wore periwigs."

1697—Mr. Noyes of Salem wrote a treatise on periwigs.

1708—Aug. 20. Mr. Cheever died. The welfare of the province was much upon his heart. He abominated periwigs."

The Judge felt such extreme virulence toward these "Horrid Bushes of Vanity," that he would not sit under the ministrations of his own pastor, who had cut off his hair and donned a wig, but worshipped elsewhere.

In our neighbor town of Newbury, the clerical wig was so much an affront that, in 1752, Richard Bartlett was taken to task for refusing to commune with the church because the pastor wore a wig, and because the church justified him in it, and also for that "he sticks not from time to time to assert with the greatest assurance that all who wear wigs, unless they repent of that particular sin before they die, will certainly be damned, which we judge to be a piece of uncharitable and sinful rashness."

But the battle was already lost. In 1722, here in Ipswich, just about on the site of the Seminary building, Patrick Farrin, chirurgeon, boldly hung out his sign, "periwig-maker" and the gentlemen of Ipswich could have their wigs and keep them curled, powdered and frizzled as fashion required.

Women, too, were given to marvellous coiffures.



Cotton Mather apostrophized the erring sex in 1683 — "Will not the haughty daughters of Zion refrain their pride in apparel? Will they lay out their hair, and wear their false locks, their borders and towers like comets about their heads?" They were called "apes of Fancy, friziling and curlying of their hayr." They had fallen far away from the Puritan "bangs" to which Higginson alludes in his comment on the Indians. "Their hair is generally black and cut before like our gentlewomen." Then, their hair was built aloft and extended out "like butterfly wings over the ears." "False locks were set on wyers to make them stand at a distance from the head."

A bill is mentioned by Felt, as contracted in this town in 1697 "for wire and catgut in making up attire for the head."

But legal restriction of dress was at an end. The whim of the wearer, and the state of the purse, henceforth determined the fashion of head dress and raiment.

# A MUSTER ROLL OF WENHAM MEN WHO MARCHED FOR LEXINGTON.

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A Muster Roll of Capt. Thomas Kimbals Company of the Militia in the Regiment whereof John Baker, Esq., was Col<sup>o</sup> & who marched on the 19<sup>th</sup> day of April last past, in consequence of the alarm made on sd day, dated at Wenham, Dec. 21, 1775.

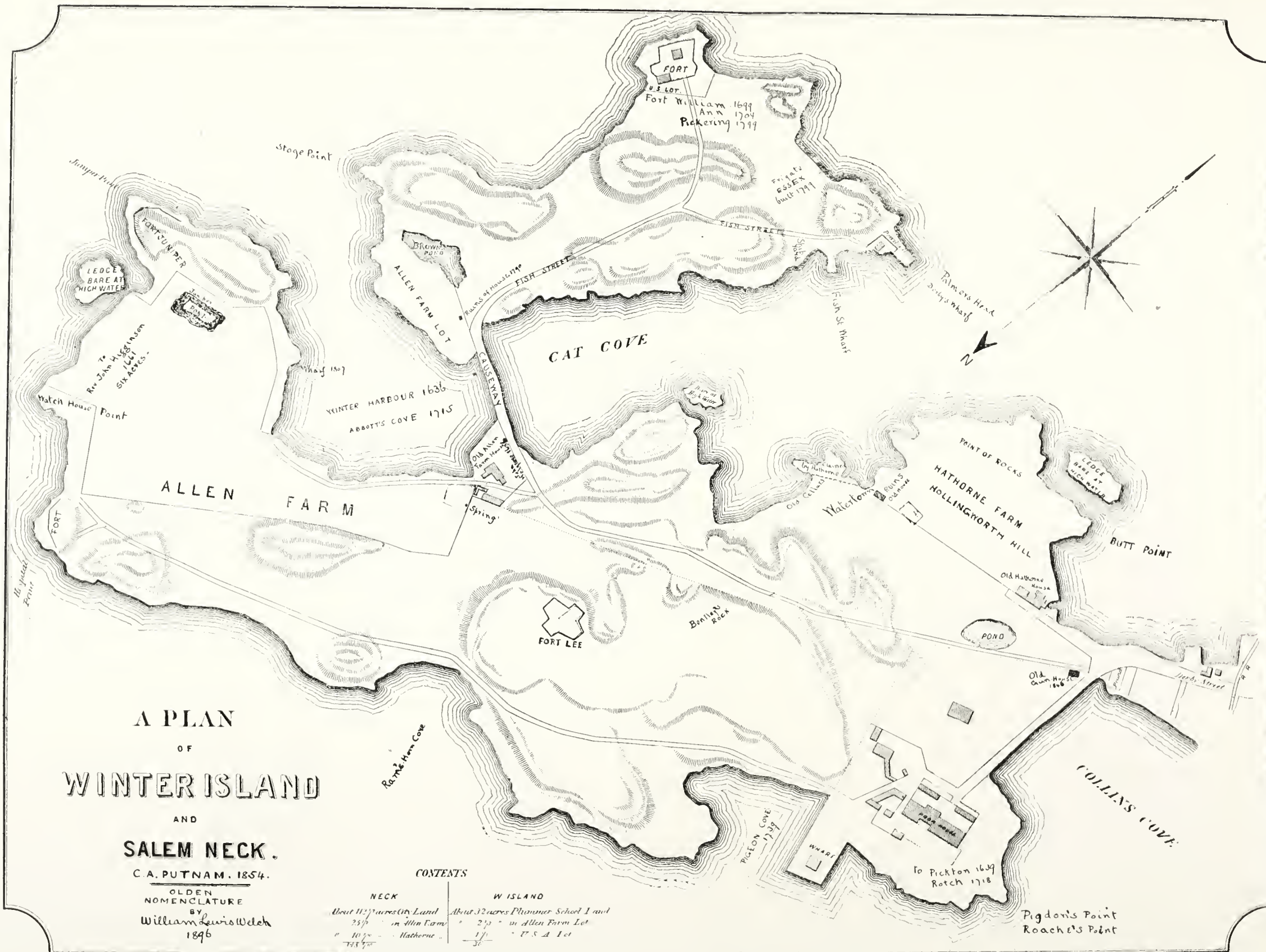
Capt. Thos. Kimball,	—bra <sup>a</sup> Edwards,
Ens. John Dodge, Jr.,	Nat <sup>l</sup> Porter,
Segt. Eben Kimball,	Thos. Kimball, Jr.,
“ Cornelius Baker,	Jacob Dodge,
Corp. Isaac Porter,	John Porkens,
Privates.	John Friend,
Ezra Kimball,	Jonah Ober,
Jacob Edwards,	—n <sup>l</sup> Kelham,
John Dodge, 3d,	Peter Porter,
Nicholas Dodge,	—n <sup>a</sup> Moulton,
Isaac Patch,	Joshua Orne,
Benj. Lamson,	Caleb Coy,
John Cow,	Josiah Swet,
—et Dodge,	Wm. Webber,
Wm. Dodge,	Benj. Varnam,
John Gott,	Sam <sup>l</sup> Kimball,
Jos. Burn,	John Batchelder,
Nathan Poland.	Sam <sup>l</sup> Quarls,
—br <sup>a</sup> Knolton,	

From 2 to 4 days service.    Marched 50 miles.

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## SALEM NECK AND WINTER ISLAND.

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A STORY OF A WALK AROUND SALEM NECK AND WINTER ISLAND, NOTING POINTS OF INTEREST AND ANCIENT NOMENCLATURE OF THE NATURAL FEATURES.

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[A paper read before the Essex Institute, Jan 4, 1897.]

BY WILLIAM LEWIS WELCH.

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STARTING from the Essex Institute for a walk down to and around the Neck and Winter Island, we pass down Essex street, first noting at our left the entrance of Forrester street; up the length of this street, once called East street, the sea water used to flow to near the common, and shallops of twenty to thirty tons or thereabout, were brought into the creek.

A short distance further on we come to the junction of Essex and Webb streets, at the foot of Essex street; here was the old Neck Gate.

A familiar saying years ago,—“From Neck Gate to Buffum’s Corner is just a mile,” probably arose from the fact that Essex street ran from one of these places to the other in nearly a straight line and made a good measure of distance.

Originally the way or road, sometimes covered by the tide, led from Neck gate around to the right, following somewhat the curve of the shore; this was the only way to the Neck, until September, 1795, when Derby street



was continued from perhaps Becket street down to what is now known as Block House Square.

As we leave Webb street, turning to the left, we go over a new road made a few years ago, until we cross the railroad, when we are again on the old way until we get near the turn to go to the Alms House.

On our left as we pass along the old road, is Collins' Cove; in its early days this was quite deep, but at one time some five acres of land, perhaps near the foot of Andrew street, washed into it and filled it up,—this previous to 1760; in 1818, Dr. Bentley noted that the cove was then only half as deep as when he came to Salem in 1783, there having been a great deal of dirt flowing down the creek, afterward known as East street, before mentioned in this paper.

On the right of this road, now called Fort Avenue, before you get to the turn leading to the Alms House, in the enclosure belonging to R. C. Manning, can be seen the remains of a brick yard; here, probably, was the lot of land let in 1772 to James Cutler for seven years for the making of brick. In 1805, the town voted that the making of bricks on the Neck be discontinued.

"At a town meeting 7<sup>th</sup> of August 1637

"It is granted to Mr. Stevens to haue 18 poole of ground by ye waters side in length, and 12 poole in bredth, in ye narrow of ye neck, for the building of shippes provided yt it shalbe imployed for yt ende."

This grant was probably hereabout, and "shipps" were built in the early days.

Over fifty years ago, just beyond the enclosure of Mr. Manning, with a roadway between, stood a stone pound, when built, I do not know; the large elm tree, now at the junction of the roads, having been at the southeast corner of the pound, a sidewalk being between them.



The road to the Almshouse is built, as can be seen, over the marsh, and the water originally went well up into the field on the right; there is now a drain from this field, under the road, into the cove.

The point of land on which the Alms House stands was granted to Thomas Pickton, on the "8<sup>th</sup> of the 6<sup>th</sup> moneth 1639" (August); this point has been at times called Pignal's, Pigden's, Pigdon's, and as the latter (Pigdon's) (4 acres) is conveyed 16 July, 1718, by Daniel Darlin, of Salem, Cordwainer, and wife Hannah, to their son William Rotch of Cape Codd, County Barnstable, Tanner; the possession of this by Rotch undoubtedly led to it being called Rotch's point, or Roache's point. In a deed dated 20 April, 1723, Rotch is mentioned as W<sup>m</sup> Roch of Truro, alias Cape Cod, Whale Fisherman. This point, or a parcel of it, came into possession of Benjamin Ives, who in 1739 exchanged with the town, land at Roache's Point and Pigeon Cove, for land bordering on the farm owned by Ives at the lower part of the Neck; Roache's Point being that originally conveyed to Pickton, as before mentioned, Pigeon being another corruption of Pickton, and referring to the cove just beyond the Alms House, where the wharf now is.

In 1747 a Pest House was built on this point, then called Roache's Point; some gravestones of the victims of the small pox at that time can be seen in the enclosure, near the head of the wharf just below the present Alms House; this pest house was discontinued, except as a residence for some indigent persons, and a new one erected on the northeast point of the Neck in 1799.

In 1815, at a town meeting, a committee was "raised" and authorized to build an Alms House on the lands of the town at the Neck, or where they should think best, and if said house shall be built on the Neck, the com-

mittee are "authorized to appropriate and enclose so many acres of said land as they may judge convenient for a garden and farm for use of said work-house;" the house was completed in 1816.

As we go down past the Cove (Pigeon) up the hill, we come to a large field, and have at the left a splendid view up the river to Danvers, all along the Beverly shore, and down as far as the eye can reach. On the right, at the summit of the hill, is Fort Lee; when this was first built, I am unable to say. Felt says in "May, 1690, Winter Island Fort was repaired and a breastwork thrown up in another place. This place was the Heights of the Neck."

I am inclined to think it more probable that the breastwork was thrown up at Juniper Point, for the reason that, in those days, the guns were of light caliber, and the defences were to be against ships, and must be near the shore.

Felt says, "16 Aug. 1742, the town accept the grant of the General Court for the erection of breastworks and a platform for 16 guns; these were on the heights of the Neck which were the location fortified in 1690." It is doubtful if the fort ever was large enough for half that number of guns, and I think the breastworks at Juniper Point, at the N. E. point of the Neck (Willows), were included in the Act. This fort, Lee, was called "New Fort" to distinguish it from the fort on Winter Island, which was the "Old Fort."

We next go down the hill and come to the beach at the head of Beverly Bar; at the left on the inside of the bar was Rams-horn Cove, named for, or with, the rock or rocks, called Rams-horn Rook on which is built the inner beacon of the bar. In 1690 the town "voted that the lower part of the Neck below Ram's horn Cove

be planted by some poor persons during the town's pleasure."

About forty years ago, this beach, being very sandy and away from the town, was used as a place of interment for deceased horses, and was known in the vernacular of "Down Town" as "Horse Beach:" Dr. Bentley mentions "Bar Point,"—this may have been the rocky promontory at the right of this beach; between this beach and the "Willows" much land has washed away since I remember. In 1807, Dr. Bentley's notes say, "The waste of soil on the north side of the Neck between the bar and Hospital Point is very great annually. Acres have gone since my acquaintance with it." Hospital Point, now known as the "Willows," had erected on it, in 1799, a pest house, which stood on the high point near the wharf lately built by Morrison; it was burned in October, 1846. The rows of willows now standing were set out about 1800; one idea was that they would afford shade for the patients who were convalescing, who were required to take daily walks; at the hither end of the double row farthest from the hospital, stood a little smoke house, or fumigating house, for the doctor's use after visiting the patients.

Between the hospital building and the water were the remains of an earthwork with several embrasures, which was probably erected in 1742 when the General Court voted for platforms for sixteen guns at Salem; this earthwork was levelled in the improvements made after "Hospital Point" was laid out as a public park in 1858. The careful observer can trace the line of the work by the stones just level with the top of the earth, and by the ditch, which shows green where it was filled with soil, and grass has grown on it.

As we pass along the shore we come to the beach, which is one of the features of the place; here also, in times past, dead horses were interred.



It was at the north side of this beach, near the wharf, that the full-rigged brig "Mermaid" was wrecked Nov. 9, 1849, in a northeast storm. She was anchored off Juniper Point, dragged her anchors and came ashore; many persons visited her; she was unloaded here and eventually hauled off.

I think that this part of the land to our right, whereon stand the Pavilion and other buildings, right back of this beach, is the lot traded in 1739 by Benjamin Ives and the town; Ives taking this lot, which was a strip or gusset piece of say two acres adjoining his farm, giving the town three acres at Roache's Point and Pigeon Cove as before stated.

After passing the beach we turn to the left and go to the point where, a few years ago, a wharf was built for the landing of passengers. This was originally called "Watch-House Point." Here was built, in the early settlement of the town, one of the first block-houses, and some time it had a cannon in it; it was called "Old Block-House," in 1758. Here was the place of interment of the victims of the small-pox who died in the hospital on the point that we have just passed. Many of the head stones were standing up to 1860 and later.

Continuing our walk we pass the fence which is on the line of the old division wall, and are on the land granted to the Rev. John Higginson, in 1661; it lay along the shore probably over as far as the beach at the Juniper. It must have extended out into the sea perhaps thirty or forty feet more than it now does, and have been quite deep in from the sea, westerly. The probable southern boundary was a marsh which was known as Juniper Pond fifty years ago and more; this would be a very natural boundary for the grant.

As we keep on over this lot, we come to a beach on our left, known as Juniper Beach, and Juniper Pond is on our

right; then we turn to the left, ascend the rising ground, and are on the site of quite an extensive earthwork, which I think was early fortified, perhaps in 1690, when the old fort was repaired, and "breastworks thrown up in another place." This fort had several embrasures for cannon, and the works for infantry were continued to the left (north) across the beach,—also to the right across the head of a beach where a landing could be made.

I give the description as I knew it years before it was improved (just after the civil war) by levelling all the works; many times have I run up and down the old embrasures, which were worn to a somewhat conical shape by natural causes, as well as by the feet of troops of boys and girls who for many generations have played at the point.

There was a deep ditch across the open end of the fort, which was either the cellar of the barracks erected in 1776, or part of the defences of the place; a line of several houses now occupies the line of the ditch. There was a well just at the foot of the hill before you get on to the Juniper, to the right of the road, near the corner of the old dividing wall, which may have been the well for the fort. It was bottomed by a flat rock which was probably the face of a ledge; the water was never very good, but has been much used.

In Doctor Bentley's notes I find this: "Wednesday 30 May, 1792, I went down to the Neck Farm, dined on fish, and after dinner left the concourse of boys, men, and negroes, and went upon Juniper Head, where I took a soft lodging upon a stone, and relieved myself by an hour's nap under the Junipers."

Hon. Robert Rantoul, in some reminiscences of about the same time, communicated to our Institute by his grandson Robert S. Rantoul, says of the Juniper Fort: "As I

grew older, I was allowed to visit those places of amusement where the young assembled to enjoy their playfulness. These were, for the children from the East end of the town of Salem, on the neck, at what was then called the Old Fort, now Fort Pickering, and what was then called the new Fort, and also sometimes at an old Fortification called Juniper Fort. At these places there were cake, candy and other articles of refreshment for sale, of which the children were large purchasers and consumers. Amongst the larger boys, there were various games such as pitching coppers, throwing props, jumping, wrestling, etc."

There used to be near the middle of the Juniper pasture (the whole headland was used for a pasture for many years) two pear trees, the fruit of which was seldom touched, for one bite was sufficient to pucker the mouth of any boy; when these were planted I do not know, but it must have been many years ago.

In Essex Deeds, Book I, page 31, is recorded a deed of which the following is an abstract: "John Herbert of Southhold on Long Island to Mordecai Crawford,  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre upland, next adjoining M. C. in ye neck of land next Winter Island."

30 June, 1656.

Also, same book, leaf and date: "Thomas More of Southhold in New England, to Mordecai Crawford,  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre upland, joining the land of Mr. John Herbert on ye poynt of land by Winter Harbour." These were undoubtedly part of the Juniper.

Keeping westerly along the shore we come to the entrance of what was originally called "Winter Harbour," now known as Abbott's Cove. The entrance to this cove must have been, at the early settlement of the place,



very much narrower than it now is ; it has widened much since I have known it, and might have been one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet narrower in 1630, for it has washed away some every year.

Passing along off the headland, down a hill, we cross a little beach under which was a log drain from Juniper Pond which lies at our right. Juniper Pond used to be a good skating pond when the muskrats stopped the drain so that the water couldn't run out ; and in the fall and early winter many wild ducks and geese made it a halting place, affording good shooting to some gunners who were versed in the ways of these wild fowl.

Up a short rise and we are on a small promontory that juts into the cove ; about here, in 1640, lived John Pride who, on 23<sup>d</sup> of 10<sup>th</sup> mo. (December), mortgaged his house, and the mortgage is recorded on page 1, Book I, Essex Deeds ; he lived here in 1662 as well, for 25 Nov., 1684 (see Essex Deeds, Book VII, page 79), Thos. Chubb, Sen<sup>r</sup>, about 75 years old, made a deposition to that effect. In 1684 this land was in possession of J. Higginson, Jr.

"Mr. Holgreaves stage in Winter Harbour" was about here too ; a stage, so called, at that time was a floating landing, used principally for landing fish, but also used for landing other things, and perhaps as a sort of temporary store house.

The land on top of this hill to the eastward, way back to the pond, was graded off, and at the east side next the pond, also on the south side, running parallel with an open drain, it was terraced, making a very desirable lot ; there used to be several apple trees along the east side of the terrace, and there was one large one right in the line of the wall near the road.

There undoubtedly was a house on this lot but I cannot tell who lived in it, or owned it. I remember when I was

quite a small boy seeing a long stone doorstep here, where my father was ploughing. It may have been a house belonging to Mordecai Crawford, for he owned property along here, and over beyond this land of his were the six acres granted to Higginson (or Tapley may have owned the house). This land of Crawford's was sold to Capt. Thomas Savage of Boston, who afterward bought the six acres of Higginson (*Essex Deeds*, Book III, page 396 : 25 Nov., 1670) and transferred the whole to his daughter and her husband (see the following abstract from *Essex Deeds*, IV-383) :

Major Thos. Savage & Mary, to John Higginson and Sarah, his son & dau. lot of land I bought of M. Crawford on Salem Neck, on North side of the Cove or harbour, called Winter Harbour, & 6 acres adjoining on N. E. next the sea, lately bought of Rev. J. Higginson, & lying together with the other parcell within a fence, bounded by water E., S., & somewhat W., & common land N.

6 Aug. 1673.

Doctor Bentley in his notes, 29 Apr., 1807, says, "Capt. Allen has just planked his new piers on the North side of Abbott's Cove." As we go down off this little hill, we can see at our left several posts, which undoubtedly are the remains of the wharf spoken of; right off this place is the deepest water, at high tide, in any part of the cove.

We soon pass to the road that leads to the farm house, westerly; this road is nearly all made land, for the cove extended much farther north as can easily be seen by the remains of salt marsh almost over to the Willows. Farther up the road, just past the orchard, near the farm house, there used to be quite a marsh that led almost over to the north shore; it was drained, both by open and under-

ground drains, the latter being made of bored logs, such as were used by the old Aqueduct Co., and the open drains can be seen to-day. I remember that in springtime and at high tides, the whole field where now is the basin of the "Chute" was well flooded. Inside the enclosure of the farmhouse, at the right, just as we enter, used to be a little pond walled up on two sides, which was filled from the drainage of several springs, and it was connected with the system of drainage before mentioned. Just north of this pond, and overflowing into it, was a well, not very deep, which had very good soft water; this was always spoken of in my young days as "The Spring." I think it is the same spring mentioned in a deed to Gilbert Tapley in 1677.

We now come to the mansion house of the Allen farm. This house is in two distinct parts; the ell running east and west is very old, having large square posts in each corner of every room, and a large beam running across the middle of the ceiling of each room, and there are other evidences of its antiquity. The other part of the house running north and south is of much more modern construction, perhaps built about the end of the last century: the ground floor is some eighteen inches higher than the ground floor of the old part; the kitchen in the new part is very large; has a very large fireplace and oven on the right side of the fireplace; a very large "dresser" with cupboard and shelves; the windows have shutters on the inside which slide in and out between the walls. This new part may have been built by Capt. Edward Allen, who acquired the place in 1793, and died in 1803, or by Richard Derby who owned it before Allen had possession of it.

A deal of money must have been spent on the Neck in the early part of this century. My father has said that all around the Allen farm were planted poplar trees, or willow



trees, all placed just outside the boundary walls. The last of them fell within two years. It was to the northward of the road nearly abreast of the "Chute"; it had stood lonely enough in the field ever since the new road was laid out to the Willows, but it was originally on the boundary line of the farm. Another of these trees was on Winter Island, just over the causeway, at the left of the road, near the pond. In the engraving of the Encampment of the State Militia, held under Governor Banks, at Winter Island in 1858, this tree can be seen very plainly. I can remember stumps of some of these trees along the wall at the foot of Fort Lee, and others at Juniper beach; others are remembered at the beach on Winter Island back of the pond.

The willow trees at the "Willows" were planted about this time; altogether, the Neck in the beginning of the century must have been very attractive.

Doctor Bentley says, 18 June, 1803: "Capt. Allen building the wall towards the cove in front of his piazza on the Neck." It must have been about then that the hill in the yard was cut down and walled up and the stone steps placed to mount the hill: there was a "summer house," as we called it, built on the end of the lawn towards the cove, at the place where Doctor Bentley speaks of the wall being built in 1803: this was a very fine lawn, nicely graded, and sloped gradually from in front of the piazza down to the wall. When I first knew it in 1846, the summer house was still there, open on the side towards the house and the ends and back side of lattice work; several hundred wood-engravers had left crude specimens of their skill in carved initials and some in full names on the seats and sides of this building. The old part of the mansion must be very old, for, as I have described it, the signs of ancient methods of construction are very apparent; this

may be the house of Mordecai Crawford, afterwards of Henry Bartholomew, and deeded by the latter to Gilbert Tapley 15 Oct., 1677, and thus described in Essex Deeds, Book V, page 69 :

" Henry & Elizth Bartholomew to Gilbert Tapley fisherman, dwelling house and all the ground adjacent, once Mordecai Crawford's, South by path or highway leading to gutt or said causeway, leading to Winter Island, and so runs from said causeway to the fence of J. Higginson by the spring ; bounded by gutt & Winter Harbour Easterly, & North by J. Higginson or Major Savage, & with Common land west."

" Gilbert Tapley, 14 Sept. 1713, sold to J. Higginson for £40 the Salt Marsh, land & flats near his dwelling house (half an acre) bounded N. by land of said Higginson, E. by Cove or Winter Harbor, S. by the cut so called, and so along lower side of Bridge or Causeway leading to Winter Island so far as their land extends."

" Gilbert Tapley's Son, Joseph Tapley, Jr, admr. of Gilbert T., sold to Capt. John Abbott, per. order of Court for £100., the whole messuage & homestead of late G. T., bounded S. by way to Fort, W., common land, N., Col. Higginson, E. said H., containing 1 acre : 14 Feb. 1714-15."

This house is at or near the spot where settled John Holgrave, who received a grant from the town 18 April, 1636, as follows :

" Granted vnto mr John Holgrave fisherman three quarters of an acre of land vpon Winter Island for flakes &c. And halfe an acre without Winter Island for his howse lott."

" At Towne Meeting 14<sup>th</sup> of 6<sup>th</sup> month (August) 1637 : Moved that Mr. John Holgraue at ye earnest request of the towne hath undertaken to keepe an ordinary for the entertainment of strangers."

Here then was the first Inn mentioned in the records.

At a general town meeting held 11 Dec., 1639: "John Gedney is called by the town to keepe an Inne & John Holgraue layeth his downe."

At another town meeting held the same month "Mr. Holgraue chose ageane to keep the ordenary & the drawing of wine referred till next meeting till Mr. Holgraue & Mr. Gott have conferred thereabout."

"At a generall Towne meeting the 7th of the 2d moneth, 1645 (April), Capt. Trask, Peter Palfry & Jeffry Massy are appointed by the town to sett out the way neere Mr. Holgraues howse into Winter Island."

This way then "sett out," was probably the piece of road skirting the garden of the farm and down by the side of the hill, and it leads now, as then, to the "Causeway" going over to Winter Island.

The first causeway, sometimes known as "Mordecai's Cut," was built probably by Mordecai Crawford at the place where the mainland and Winter Island nearest approach each other. Advantage was undoubtedly taken of the existing physical conditions, and the way itself, from its name, indicates that it was but a few inches from the bottom of the cove at low water; it was undoubtedly built higher from time to time. Mordecai Crawford seems to have owned a large part of the land around Winter Harbor, as has been shown, and was pushing for Winter Island, and it may be that the two conveyances of Thomas More and John Herbert made 30 June, 1656, before quoted, were of land here, and not at the Juniper as I then stated, but Crawford owned at the Juniper also.

It is evident that the nomenclature for the two coves, that on the north of the causeway as Winter Harbor, and that on the south of the causeway as Cat Cove, obtained



from the very earliest days, and was caused by the physical line of division between the two; half acre lots for fishing lots were granted at both coves, by the town, early in its history. The first recorded in the published records was at Winter Harbor, and to John Holgrave, 18 April, 1636; one was granted there to Thomas Moore, 11 July, 1636; eight were there granted, 16 January, 1636-7; 4 February, 1638-9, several lots were granted near Winter Harbor, and one at Catt Cove; 18 November, 1639, one lot was granted at Cat Cove and three at Winter Harbor; these notes from the records show that from the first the two names were distinctive. In a mortgage recorded, 14 December, 1713, Winter Harbor is mentioned as a "creek called Winter Harbour."

To resume our consideration of the causeway. At high tide the canoes of the settlers could pass freely over this causeway, but we can understand that those passing to Winter Island might want to go dry shod at all times, and so would build the causeway higher until it got to be an obstruction to the passage of boats; then a passage was cut through it somehow, and a bridge perhaps thrown over this cut. Afterward the necessity for a road over to Winter Island overcame the necessity for a passage for boats, and we find in the records in 1667:

"Voated that the passage that was Cut vpon the neck to goe over to Winter Island, is to be stopped and a sufficient way to be made over to the Island."

After we have passed the causeway, at our left, enclosed with a stone wall to the sea and the cove, is a lot of land which contained four acres in 1677, and only two and two-thirds acres in 1854; this was conveyed by John Massey, husbandman, and wife Sarah, to the Executors of Capt. Walter Price, and by them to Major Thomas Savage; described as "fenced in to the sea or Winter

Harbour with a stone wall, bounded E., southerly and S. W. with Common, N. and E. with sea and Winter Harbour."

Just inside the entrance to this lot, a few rods to the right, easterly, is a little knoll with stones cropping out, showing the shape of a cellar. In 1791 Doctor Bentley mentions this mound in his notes, and finds that it was the remains of the chimney, etc., of a house that was kept as a tavern, say about 1714. Doctor Bentley talked with Madam Mary Renough, who, born at the farm-house before spoken of, was then 85 years of age, and was the granddaughter of Capt. John Abbott, who bought the farm-house of Tapley in 1714 (Abbott was born about 1640). The last person living in this house on Winter Island, was named Crow. The stone wall that now bounds the lot is probably the same wall that bounded it from the beginning; it runs easterly, somewhat, to the shore, and alongside a small pond. In my young days, in the fall and winter this was quite a large pond, extended both sides of the wall, and when frozen was much frequented for skating, and at other times by gunners for ducks and other wild fowl. It was called Brown's Pond. I think the name came from one James Browne who owned a fish-house and warehouse near it. Essex Deeds, XIII-79, has the following:

"Thos. Maule of Salem, Merchant, for £43, conveys to James Browne of Salem, fish-house and ware house at Winter Island, on N. side of Island near unto Fish St., joining warehouse now in possession of Benj. Gerrish.

31 Jan. 1699."

Over beyond this pond (Brown's Pond) and outside the enclosure spoken of, is a large beach that is now within the bounds of the United States property as marked by their boundary posts. I think this claim by the United States is erroneous. My father always claimed that this



beach belonged to the farm, and he always had, at any rate took, a right of way to it to collect seaweed, etc.; he had been familiar with the farm since about 1826, and his idea or knowledge of the fact is corroborated by a deed recorded 1 Dec., 1727, Essex Deeds B. LVII,—49: from John Higginson executor of John Higginson to George Daland for £300, and same date (Book LII,—183), by George Daland and wife Bethial, to John Higginson, which describes the land as running "from Watch House Point on said neck round to the Stage point, or Eastern point of said Island, & from said Eastern point, by the sea as same runs at low water mark, round to said Watch House Point."

Taking our way from Stage point, which is the point just beyond the beach mentioned, and the point where probably was Brown's warehouse, back, westerly, around Brown's Pond, we soon get into the road down the Island, which I think is the old "Fish Street" so many times mentioned. As we go down, at our left are the buildings of the Plummer Farm School, and beyond are the shore and beaches; a great deal of the eastern shore of Winter Island has washed away in my time, and of course much more has gone in the previous years. Keeping along down the road (Fish Street), to where it branches off to the left, we keep that, and go to Fort Pickering.

The Records have it: "At a Generall Towne Meeting 17 May 1655, Its: Ordered that the fort upon Winter Island shall be finished with all speed," which would indicate that it had been building for some time previously. In 1699 it was called Fort William; in 1704, Fort Ann; 30 Oct. 1799, by order of the Secretary of War, it was called Fort Pickering, it having been ceded by the town to the U. S. in 1794. During the civil war it was rebuilt, and much enlarged, and the breastworks on the hill in rear of



the fort were constructed as part of the defences of the position.

Leaving Fort Pickering, continuing our walk along the shore, we soon come to the place where the Frigate "Essex" was built and launched in 1799; this is close to the steep hill on top of which is the continuation of the earth-works spoken of. A little beyond the works we find the remains of a wharf, and a powder magazine under the hill. A lease of this point was made by the town, March, 1756, for a thousand years, at a shilling a year, to Richard Derby; in 1839, Oliver M. Whipple, assignee of the lease, paid the city \$152, for the rent of the same for the unexpired time, and had a "Powder House" there.

Before the civil war, when Salem's vessels traded directly with Africa, Zanzibar, etc., many tons of powder were stored in this "Powder House" and from there put on board vessels. It came over the road from Chelmsford (I think), in great covered wagons, hauled by four or six horses, and usually got to Salem in the morning; it was in different sizes of kegs, and sizes of powder. Very little powder is stored there now.

Leaving this place we are now coming into Cat Cove, and along the west side of Winter Island; about a hundred yards from the "Powder House" we come to a beach, and to the left of the beach a rocky point and right up from the beach quite a level piece of land, that is not much over a foot or so above high water.

This level piece of land is the place of the old shipyard, and along this beach continuing over this rocky point was "Fish Street Wharf."

In Doctor Bentley's notes, I find: "30 Mch., 1790. Found Bartlett at the new fort removing loads of wood of the old wharf upon Winter Island about a hundred yards round the point and within the wharf built by Derby.

This old wharf was approached on the land over a ledge of rocks which reached to the flats and gave a security to the upper part. The old shipyard was within this wharf. Hereafter traces of this string of wharf may not be found."

"15 June, 1793. Fish Street wharf was upon the Winter Island just within the Cat Cove. The remains have been removed since my day."

"23 May, 1801. Blowing of rocks upon Winter Island at the bottom of Fish Street, so that posterity will have no judgement of the form of the shore upon which the first business was done by the primitive settlers. These rocks are for the new road which is to pass over the inlet between Fiske and Woodbridge's, from Neptune street to Water street. They have blowed also those rocks lying below the new fort on the opposite side of Cat Cove or Winter Island harbour."

These rocks make the position of Fish Street, Fish Street Wharf and the ship-yard easily determined.

After quite a little search at this point, below high water mark, I have found traces of the blasting mentioned by Doctor Bentley, but unless one was looking especially for it these marks would not be noticed.

After leaving this place there is not much of interest on this side of the Island; undoubtedly there were landing places, and warehouses along the shore, but no traces of them are known to exist.

Passing again over the causeway, through the road by the farm house and turning abruptly to the left, we are at the place where the blowing of rocks took place, mentioned by Doctor Bentley in 1801; a large split stone is on the beach just at the edge of high water. At the right of us, just at the top of the first hill, right along side the road, close to the fence, not six inches under ground,

I found two or three years ago, a skeleton ; whether of an Indian, or not, I cannot say. It is at the Museum. All these hills hereabout are covered, just under the sod, with clam, mussel and quahaug shells, probably the debris of Indian encampments made there for many years. I have found mixed with these shells small pieces of pottery, ashes, and small pieces of bones.

Keeping along southerly to the extreme end of this side of Cat Cove, we find the point jutting out, some one hundred feet or more, of bare rocks. Fifty years ago this was covered with soil, and was called by the down-town boys "Cook Island." They used to have little picnics, or parties, there ; fry potatoes, boil clams, etc.

I think that originally this line of Cat Cove ran across to the Hathorne place, and that this little cove which now appears to our right has been washed away since the early settlement of the town.

In the Miles Ward interview preserved by Doctor Bentley, it is stated that a row of cottages ran from the land near Point of Rocks, to the bridge to go over to Winter Island. I know that the land has washed away very much since I have known it. It is just in the way where the southeast gales would get a clean sweep at it.

Just over across this little cove, where the line of fence ends at the cove, just inside the fence is an excavation which I have always noticed ; it is just at the edge of the beach. It is thought that this is the remains of some cellars that were there many years ago ; perhaps part of that row of cottages spoken of by Miles Ward.

The ruins just inside the fence, at the beginning of the Hathorne farm, are of a one-story, square house, built I do not know when, which had four rooms on the floor, one large chimney in the centre of the house, and a corner fireplace in each room. This was a sporting house years



ago, as was the Allen farm-house; and the front door, also like that of the Allen farm, seems to have been on the back side. There was a bar room in the house, and bowling alleys in the rear of it.

Along the shore, back of the house, and over toward the buildings of the works there, and we see why this land was called "Point of Rocks," and so known from the earliest days.

Much of the land belonging to this part of the Neck has been washed into the sea, and it is hard to determine where stood houses mentioned in the early days, or where was the land that is mentioned and that cannot now be found.

At the lower end of this lot of land, perhaps near the ruins of the old house that we have seen, was a settlement in the early days, that Doctor Bentley said, in 1811, had been called by persons with whom he conversed, "Waters' farm." It has also been known as "Watertown." Among the names of settlers there, were John Ormes, Robert Follett, George Burch, Humfrey Woodberry, W<sup>m</sup>. Punchard, Clement English, Joseph Striker, the last three being sons-in-law of Richard and (*Rejoice*) Joyce Waters, who conveyed to dau. Abigail, wife of W<sup>m</sup> Punchard, Mary, wife of Clement English, in 1771, and to Hannah, wife of Joseph Striker, in 1775, parts of their estate. Probably these, with their son Ezekiel, had houses near each other, and remained there after others moved away, giving the name to the place.

According to Doctor Bentley, the estate called "Point of Rocks" was early in possession of Richard Hollingsworth (Hollingworth), and much of the early commerce of the town was there carried on; landings, warehouses, and other conveniences for business were there built.

When I knew the place (since 1846) it was known as Hathorn's farm, Ebenezer Hathorne himself owning it,

and calling it "Hollingworth Hill," as per Salem Directories of 1842, '46, '50, '51, '53.

13 Feb., 1644-5, the town ordered that "all such as have houses & lotts next the waters side in any place of this towne shall maintayne a good way both for horse & man of eight foote broad at least, vpon payne of presentment & such a fine as the towne or court shall impose vpon such as are defective."

Doctor Bentley speaks of a road running direct from Hollingsworth's to the causeway. There are not any signs of the road to-day.

Doctor Bentley's notes, 4 June, 1803, say: "Col. Hathorne is straightening the wall on the neck, at Point of Rocks. The town exchanges land for mutual convenience."

It was probably about this same time that Col. Hathorne planted a row of poplars along the north side of the road from what is now called "Blockhouse Square," to his house, some of which remained until after I knew the neck, in 1846.

"Butt point" was on the southwest side of "Point of Rocks," and probably between the road to the farm and the new wharf built by the Adamanta Co. I think what is left of it is the long point partly covered at high tide, with some rocks that are bare at high water. It must have been several acres in extent. It had a shipyard on it, probably, and several parties were granted land on it. It was from this point that the first ferry was run to "Darby fort." The following extracts from the records are of interest at this place in this paper:

"A towne meeting y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> of 6<sup>th</sup> moneth 1637

W<sup>m</sup> Huson, Tho: Chadwell & Roger . . . shall have each of them half an acre of grounde at But poynte neere where Hollingwood builds."

"The 25<sup>th</sup> of the 7th month

"George Wright is granted halfe an aker vpon the neck to build on and 5 akres in the forest side for planting and to keep a ferry twixt Butt point & Darby fort."

"At a meeting of the selectmen the 23<sup>d</sup> of the 2<sup>d</sup> mo 1657 :

"for surveyors we a point from Mr. Browne's to the neck & soe to the fferrie Thomas Roots & Daniel Rumboll."

"At a meeting of selectmen 4<sup>th</sup> 2 mo 1659 Surueiors for the other part of towne downewards to ferys

Tho Roots ffancis Skery."

Leaving this place we pass up the street into "Blockhouse Square" so called, lately ; it was about here that two block-houses were erected early in the settlement as a protection against Indians from the east. If we go down the middle road, leading to the Willows, shortly after we go up the first hill, we come to elevated land on our left, on top of which Doctor Bentley used to have a lookout. This is about north from the ruined house on the Hathorne land, and nearly abreast of a gully leading to the same house ; my father has many times made a passage through this gully in the winter, when the road to neck gate was impassable from snow.

Returning to Blockhouse Square we pass towards the city through Derby street. The principal way to the neck previously to 1795 was by the old road from Essex street. In September, 1795, a new way was opened, from, say, Becket St. down to the neck by the street now called Derby St. Crowninshield's ropewalk had extended from near Essex St., between Becket and English streets, down to the water : the town purchased the lower end of it, cut it off, and extended Derby St. as it



now runs. Doctor Bentley says in his notes it was continued down by Mrs. Whitford's, and that Mrs. Whitford's was on the corner of Derby and Webb streets; probably the same house stands there now that stood there then; when I was very small it was owned by a Goldsmith who, I think, was a descendant of Mrs. Whitford.

I have written an account of the Neck and Winter Island as I have known them, and as I have learned about them, and, while it is by no means perfect, it may prove a help to others who want to make a more complete study of the subject. The accompanying plan from a survey made by Mr. C. A. Putnam in 1854, to which I have added some of the older names, will be of help to others also. I am much indebted to Mr. Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters for the use of abstracts of deeds relating to "down-town," the Neck and Winter Island, of which I have made free use by his consent; to the extracts from Doctor Bentley's Note Books published by Mr. E. Stanley Waters, in the Proceedings of the Institute, and to other books in the Institute Library, which I have consulted to make as perfect a story as I could.

[Between the reading and the printing of this valuable paper, so well supplementing what Doctor Bentley and Doctor Felt had written about Winter Island and the Neck, the Institute was favored with the reading, by Gilbert L. Streeter, of still another carefully prepared address dealing with other phases of the same matter. Each has its claim to notice and its intrinsic value independently of the other. It has been thought wise to publish them together, and Mr. Streeter's paper follows. The large and growing summer population now frequenting the Neck will, perhaps, justify the space devoted to this topic.—ED.]

## THE STORY OF WINTER ISLAND AND SALEM NECK.

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[A paper read before the Essex Institute, March 1, 1897.]

BY G. L. STREETER.

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THE lovers of natural scenery will doubtless agree to the opinion that within the whole area of Salem there is no place so charming in its outlook as Winter Island. The territory itself is agreeably diversified, and the prospect is superb. The wide and varied panorama is unrivalled on our whole New England coast, from Narragansett Bay to the Penobscot River. The view embraces the harbors and the commerce of Salem and Beverly, the pleasant hillsides of the Marblehead shore, the sightly eminence of Codden's Hill, the far-off reach of the Forest River, the picturesque islands of the outer harbor and the lighthouses that shine by night, the long outline of the famous North Shore, where nature and art combine to make the scene attractive, the bold outlines of Fort Lee across Cat Cove, and the long look beyond up the valley of the Essex Branch River. These, with the broad horizon and the ever-changing sea, never fail to gratify the sense of the beautiful.

Although this island is so small, embracing now only thirty-six acres—but formerly much larger—it has a history, not without interest, running back into the earliest years of the town. The first white man who visited this immediate neighborhood within historic times, who has left any record, seems to have been the celebrated Cap-

tain John Smith, who sailed along these shores in 1614. He made a map, and gave to the vicinity of Salem the name of Basston. Mr. Felt, the admirable annalist of Salem, supposes that this was done in allusion to the abundance of the fish called Bass then found in these waters. The Rev. Francis Higginson wrote home to England, in 1629, that he had just heard that "the fishers had caught 1600 basse at one draught," and he adds that in England these would be worth "many a pound."

In 1626, twelve years after Smith's visit, certain other white men, led by an energetic and enterprising person named Roger Conant, came to Salem to stay, which they did in the face of great difficulties, dangers, and privations. We have the names of only fourteen of these brave people, all men, it not having been thought worth while to mention the women and children. They settled in the centre of the territory, between the North and South rivers, and Mr. Conant built the first house in Salem, which was on a spot now on Essex street nearly opposite the Market. These men were "planters and fishermen," and their fishing boats, called shallops, were moored in the coves, and especially in Shallop Cove, now called Collins Cove. The shallop was a large boat, with a deck, something like a ship's long boat.

Two years later, in 1628, a larger number of people came from England with Gov. John Endecott to succor and strengthen the Salem colony. And in another two years a still larger company of settlers came over with Governor Winthrop. With these begins the history of Winter Island.

#### THE ISLAND AND THE FISHERIES.

These last settlers also were "planters and fishermen." They were fishermen of necessity. The soil of this peninsula was unsuited to prosperous farming, and compared



with the rich acres of old England must have seemed poor indeed. Mr. Higginson described the territory of Salem, between the rivers, as "a sandy plain." William Wood, in his "New England Prospect," said, still more emphatically, that "where most of the houses stand is very bad and sandy ground." Out of such a meagre soil the means of subsistence could be wrung only with the greatest labor. But the sea was swarming with fishes of all kinds. The narratives of the early writers are filled with such extraordinary tales of the richness of the sea, the superabundance of marine life, that we are apt to regard them as "fish stories" in the skeptical sense of that term. But there is no good reason for doubting them. The rivers, harbors and bay were stocked with a wonderful store of fish. The Indians had lived largely upon fish for generations. The modern idea of an Indian is that he was a hunter. So he was in the forests of the interior, and upon the great plains of the west. But the Indian of Massachusetts Bay, in the time of Roger Conant, was more of a fisherman than of a hunter. And for the same reason that he was so the first settlers of Salem became fishermen in their day.

At first the fisheries were undertaken for subsistence, but as the colony grew, and something like trade became possible, the pursuit developed into commerce. Naturally, therefore, the first families in Salem settled near the shores, for easy access to the coves and harbor. This brought Winter Island into use at an early day. The two coves adjacent, known as Abbott's Cove and Cat Cove, were very conveniently located. Some of the families, therefore, settled on the Neck very soon after they landed with Governor Winthrop, and Winter Island by and by became the center of the fishing business. The two coves were doubtless much deeper than they are now and

afforded excellent shelter for the shallops in bad weather. The Island had the advantage of being surrounded by water, and therefore fish could be cured upon its shores with less risk of depredations by wild or domestic animals.

Over two hundred years ago a petition to the town said that "Winter Island hath been improved for y<sup>e</sup> making of fish ever since y<sup>e</sup> first settlement of y<sup>e</sup> town." We know from the records that it became necessary to regulate the fisheries here as early as 1636, and, from that time on, many grants of land on Winter Island were made to the inhabitants of the town for fishing purposes and also for dwelling houses on the Neck and near the shores of Abbott's and Cat coves. These grants apparently did not convey titles to the land but conferred fishing privileges in consideration of the payment of an annual fee of from one to five shillings, and when the fisheries ceased the land reverted to the town.

For the convenience of the fishermen, some sort of a passage or causeway seems to have been made to the island, at an early day, which is spoken of in some documents as a "gutt" and which it is surmised may have been usable only at half-tide. Afterwards there seems to have been a cut made through it for boats to pass, which is mentioned as "Mordecay's cut," in reference doubtless to Mordecai Crawford, who lived near by.<sup>1</sup> But in 1667 it was voted that the "cutt uppon the neck to go over to Winter Iland is to be stopped and a sufficient way to be made over to the Iland." This is the present causeway, but it may at some time have had a bridge for the passage of boats, as in 1714 a certain deed speaks of "the cut so called and so along the lower side of Bridge or causeway,

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<sup>1</sup> In 1677 H. Bartholomew sold land "once Mordecai Crawford's south by path or highway leading to Gutt or Causeway leading to Winter Island."

leading to Winter Island." Gilbert Tapley made a mortgage in 1724 which speaks of "a way and Bridge to Winter Island."

The fishing business grew steadily, and in 1684 no less than ten persons were authorized to build wharves on the island. The fish houses, flakes and warehouses increased, and there were convenient places in use at one time for forty vessels and their fares of fish. The wharves were built on the inside, on the shores of the coves, where the land was low and easy of access. There were also wharves on the northern or Juniper Point side of Abbott's Cove. Mr. Allen, who owned the Allen Farm, built a wharf on the Juniper side of the Cove as recently as in 1807, just within the remains of Gardner's Dam, and some remaining posts or piles of it are still discernible. There was a street on the Island called "Fish Street," which was doubtless the same road that now runs to the Fort and to the Powder House. This is a very ancient way. In 1645, Captain Trask, Peter Palfray, and Jeffry Massy were appointed by the town "to sett out the way neere Mr. Holgraves howse into Winter Island." This way terminated at "Fish Street Wharf," which was some three hundred feet within the outer point of the cove where the Powder House is. In 1760, Miles Ward, then ninety years of age, one day took a chaise and drove to the Island (and around town) and showed his grandson "where Mr. Abbott's fish house stood (in earlier years) and told him that 'Fish Street' was that leading to Fish Street wharfe, which was about twenty rods northerly of the now Winter Island wharfe.<sup>2</sup>" He also said that "the Island was filled with flakes to dry fish on." Some of the warehouses on the Island seem to have been substantial buildings, of considerable value, as we learn from

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<sup>2</sup> Powder House wharf.



deeds and mortgages which mention them. Thomas Maule, the famous Quaker, who courageously opposed the witchcraft madness while it raged here, bought a warehouse in 1699 "on the north side of the Island near unto Fish street," for thirty-three pounds, and sold it for forty-three. In 1698, Capt. William Bowditch, a mariner, great-grandfather of Nathaniel Bowditch, the distinguished author of the *Practical Navigator*, sold, as administrator, one of the fish-houses to Capt. John Turner, for thirty pounds. In Captain Turner's will, in 1740, mention is made of a warehouse which in part had been removed from Winter Island up in town. This was doubtless the same building.

The fishermen did not live upon the island but upon adjacent parts of the neck. Across the Cat Cove was a settlement at "Watertown," so called, a tract of land on the harbor side now enclosed as a farm and for manufacturing purposes. There were also cottages northward on the shore of the Cove toward the Juniper House, and the remains of their cellars were visible within the recollection of persons now living. In the narrative of Benjamin Ward, before quoted, he says "as we went over the Neck he [Miles Ward] told me where there was a row of cottages from the land near the Point of Rocks down to the bridge to cross over to Winter Island." The "Point of Rocks" was the southwesterly point of the tract called "Watertown." "The Point," says Doctor Bentley, in his *History of Salem*, "was covered with houses, stores and the shops of artificers."

#### SALEM'S FIRST TAVERN.

To accommodate the people on the Neck there was a tavern, and it was located on Winter Island, just beyond the end of the causeway, to the northward of the stone

wall, on land now owned by the Lowell cottagers. Some of the foundation stones can be seen there to-day and the half-filled cellar was visible thirty years ago. The great stone wall which then separated some private owner, as it does now, from the common lands of the Island, was built over two hundred years ago, but by whom I have been unable to ascertain, or who was the original owner of the territory. The wall is mentioned in 1677 in a deed from John Price to Major Savage. Doctor Bentley, says that, "as early as 1635, Mr. Hollingsworth (the ship builder) had claims to land upon Winter Island," and he may have been the original proprietor. In early deeds this tract is mentioned as containing four acres, but it contains now only two and a half, so that an acre and a half at that end of the Island must have been washed away, if the old and new measurements are correct. In 1679, John Clifford was licensed to keep "a victualling house" on the Island. He doubtless kept the tavern the remains of which we still discern. The old farm, now owned by Mr. Entwistle, was once owned by a man named Abbott, who gave his name to the farm, to Abbott's Cove, and to Abbott's Rock just off the Island. He owned also the tavern, which stood upon his land on the Island. Doctor Bentley examined the remains of it in 1791. We find the following interesting record in the Doctor's "Day Book," written at that time: "In the enclosure belonging to the Farm and laying on Abbott's Cove but bounding on Winter Island near the causeway is a mound of earth round which I traced stones set in the earth and on each side hollows. . . . I find by digging that [here] was a very large house, and that the heap which lay so high above the ancient method of putting foundations is a heap of earth & stones with old bricks and rubbish of which a large stack of chimneys was built. Upon enquiry I find that this was the old house of Abbott. . . .

and that it was a tavern." A granddaughter of Abbott—an old lady of ninety—told Doctor Bentley that her grandfather bought "the Tavern House of one Tapley, and that one Crow lived upon the Island while it was the property of Colonel Higginson,<sup>3</sup> and that the house was deserted sometime before it was taken away."

Additional light is thrown upon the Neck and Winter Island in Doctor Bentley's sermon on Susannah Ingersoll, in 1811, an extract from which is furnished by Mr. E. S. Waters to the Historical Collections of the Institute. Doctor Bentley says, "As early as 1635 Mr. Hollingsworth . . . had claims to land upon Winter Island, and that portion of the Neck upon which Colonel Hathorne, one of his descendants, now dwells. He was the first who had a convenient landing place in Summer Harbor, now the harbor of Salem. Beyond the projecting rock at the western part of the Point of Rocks was a stone causeway twenty feet from the bold rock, which was then connected with the upland, though the earth be now gone from the land beyond it. Above it was the largest store in Salem and the house of entertainment below, upon the causeway of Winter Island, was continued under his influence with the Ferries.<sup>4</sup> . . . The roads were direct from this ferry to Hollingsworth's and to the Inn upon Winter Island. In this time the settlement at Point of Rocks had attracted many persons who built at that place, and the families of Horbart, Striker, Punchard, and Waters remained at this place, then called 'Waters' farm,' since the memory of persons with whom I have had conversation."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Son of Rev. John Higginson.

<sup>4</sup> The Ferry to Marblehead ran from Butt's Point at the Point of Rocks.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Richard Waters seems first to have lived near the head of Broad street, but must very early have removed to the Neck near Cat Cove, where he conveyed building lots to two or three of his children, forming a hamlet afterwards known as Watertown and which remained among his descendants until the middle of the last century.—H. F. Waters, Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., vol. xvii.



Doctor Bentley goes on to say that Mr. Hollingsworth moved up to a house which stood at the head of the present Phillips wharf, and which in 1685 was opened as an Inn, under the name of the "Blue Anchor." For, he says, "it was found inconvenient as business and the settlements continued to move westward to confine the innkeeper to Winter Island, and two houses were opened besides three victualling houses. But the old Inn upon the Neck (Winter Island) continued until the dispute between the Cottagers and Commoners was settled, and Mr. Crew was the last Innholder before the house was taken down."

We quote the historical records of Doctor Bentley concerning the Neck with interest and confidence, because he was for many years a student of its territory, its almost daily visitor, and its constant admirer. The Doctor said in 1805, "I was never absent a week from the Neck if in Salem, since I have been settled (twenty years) unless confined at home or from necessity." Should this territory ever become a public park it should bear the name of Bentley.

#### THE FIRST SHIPYARD.

When the Rev. Francis Higginson came to Salem with the settlers in 1629, he was greatly pleased with the forest-crowned hills and the verdure-clad shores. He said, in words often quoted, "as we passed into the curious and difficult harbor of Naimkecke it was wonderful to behold so many islands replenished with thick woods and high trees and many fair green pastures." In "the leafy month of June," when he arrived, the whole landscape "stood dressed in living green." Winter Island was one of those islands thus pleasantly adorned. Miles Ward in his noted "interview," said "the Neck and Winter

Island was then a Timber forest to the edge of the water." The new settlers were not long in using the "high trees" for shipbuilding. Richard Hollingsworth, who lived at the Point of Rocks, had a shipyard on Cat Cove, within the Neck. He, or some one else, built also on Winter Island, and the shipyard was close by the "Fish Street Wharf." Doctor Bentley recorded, on March 30th, 1790, that he "found Bartlett at the new fort removing loads of wood of the old wharf upon Winter Island about a hundred yards round the point and within the wharf built by Derby.<sup>6</sup> This old wharf was approached on the land over a ledge of rocks which reached to the flats and gave a security to the upper part. The old shipyard was within this wharf." The cleared and levelled plot of ground, sufficiently large for a shipyard in those days of small craft, is easily discovered to-day. Thus ship-building was one of the ancient activities of this island.

The line of observation which I have thus far followed tends to show that in the early days, following the arrival of Governor Winthrop, the activities of the town were mainly in the eastern part of the territory, and especially around the coves at the Neck and Winter Island. Here I desire to digress from the main subject a moment to show how Collins Cove was used in the same connection, and how it is historically associated with Winter Island.

#### COLLINS COVE.

Shallop Cove (now Collins Cove) seems to have been used in the days I have recalled as a winter harbor for fishing vessels, and it bore its ancient name until within a comparatively recent period. It was also here that the fishing vessels took on board their supplies. It was formerly much deeper than it is now, and the southern

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<sup>6</sup> Powder house wharf.

part of it extended into a large creek where lower Forester street now is, half-way or more up to the eastern point of the Common. A run of water, which commenced up near where the Frankling Building is, discharged into this creek. The southern part of the common was very wet and swampy, with several small ponds, and these waters drained into this water course. Where Newbury street is, a "causeway" was constructed at an early date to get across the swamp, and in 1793 this causeway was "raised several feet," as we are informed by Doctor Bentley, which shows how low and wet the land must have been there originally. The Common was the "Town Swamp." Hence the public way on the southern side of the common, where the water-course was, came to be known as "Gutter Lane," until a comparatively recent period.

In 1817 Doctor Bentley said in his journal, "I suppose the whole cove from Roache's Point [Almshouse point] to Planter's Marsh [Bridge-street side] is not half the depth as when I first knew it," in 1783. The depth has continued to decrease since Doctor Bentley's time, and visibly within the memory of all old people. There was anciently a channel in the cove which was particularly deep. In the so-called interview with Miles Ward, in 1760, occurs the following statement: "Pickets (to keep off an enemy) were set from the North Blockhouse (at Neck Gate) to low-water mark. . . . One of the channells (of Collins' Cove) came around Roache's Point (Almshouse) and passed round towards the blockhouse and continued round to the creek to the northward of the Neck-gate; that to cross the channell at the Pickett was up to a man's neck or breast at low water, after he was a man grown." He said this channel got filled up in after years by the washing into it of a point of land "between Shallop wharfe and Shallop Cove eastward of the lane



(Forrester street from Essex), which contained about five acres, which was washed away into Shallop Cove and filled up the channells." This seems to show that the inlet of the Cove where Forrester street now is was at its mouth at least four feet deep at low tide. Webb street now covers this channel.

Concerning the "Shallop wharfe" mentioned above, the same reporter of the sayings of Miles Ward writes that "there was a wharfe on the creek back of Mr. Gerrish's house, where the shallops took in their stores." Doctor Benjamin F. Browne records that "about 1696 Benjamin Gerrish bought of William Cash a dwelling house and a quarter of an acre of land on Essex street, northern side, just below Forrester street. He built on the premises an office, and a number of other buildings, and a wharf. Here he kept the Custom House and an English and West India Goods store." This wharf referred to was undoubtedly the Shallop Wharf which Miles Ward spoke of. It was at the foot of land now owned by William H. Nichols, No. 12 Essex street, and digging in the lower end of his garden, fifty years ago, Mr. Nichols found remains of the posts of an ancient wharf—Shallop wharf.

Mr. Retire Becket mentioned to Doctor Bentley that "his grandfather often told him that Hollingsworth (one of our ancient shipbuilders) had shallops of forty tons which came up the Cove above East street, and opposite to Becket street, and that Mr. Masury, who lived upon land adjoining East street, now enclosed, opposite to Turner street, used to stand at his door and fish for eels and other small fish." Thus it appears that Hollingsworth built shallops on Winter Island and the Neck which visited Shallop Cove, and Shallop wharf for their supplies, and probably for a winter harbor.

There was a bath house on this creek, and when, in

1804, a part of it was filled in and a street made, this was called Bath street.

From these data we learn that Collins Cove was once an important landing place, and that its upper end was much nearer the center of the town than it is now, and furthermore, that it contained deep water—say four feet at low water in the creeks—which would float vessels of forty tons as far up as opposite Becket street and beyond.

But all these things have passed away and scarce a trace of them remains. It is difficult now to realize that Winter Island and the Neck were ever the scene of so much activity in business,—that the hum of industry ever disturbed the quiet atmosphere which now prevails. Yet for a hundred years Winter Island was the seat of Salem's growing commerce, its sunny slopes were covered with the nets, the flakes, and the warehouses of the fishermen, and their shallows floated in the surrounding waters. But as the commerce increased, as larger vessels were needed to carry the catch to foreign ports, the business was removed to other localities where deeper water and more ample accommodations were afforded. A temporary return of the fishing business to the island was made in 1755 by Richard Derby. He leased a place on the southwestern point called Obear's, and sometimes Palmer's, Head for one thousand years at one shilling a year. He built a wharf and a storehouse. In 1839, the Derby right was sold to Oliver M. Whipple for several hundred dollars, and he paid Salem \$152.83, being the annual rent for the balance of the thousand years. He built a new wharf and a powder-house, and stored powder there to be shipped by merchantmen to foreign ports. A few decaying timbers of the wharf are the last vestiges of this enterprise, but powder in small quantities is still stored in the magazine.

## THE ANCIENT FORT.

It is believed that the name of Salem was given to this town by the Reverend Francis Higginson. Cotton Mather said the name was adopted from Psalms lxxvi:2, "for they called it Salem for the peace which they had and hoped in it." However peaceful the dispositions of the early settlers were, or however pacific their intentions, it is quite sure that they came well prepared to fight if necessary. As early as 1628, we find that "they had both small and great guns, and powder and bullets for them." Military supplies of all kinds came over with Governor Winthrop, and among them five pieces of ordnance "for the fort" in charge of Samuel Sharpe, an experienced engineer.

They soon began the erection of fortifications, and one of them was started at an early day on Winter Island. We do not know precisely when it was begun, but it was as early as 1643, at which time it was not completed nor apparently for many years afterwards. In 1644, Capt. Thomas Breadcake was permitted by the General Court to take two small guns from "Winter Island by Salem" for his cruise against Turkish pirates. In 1652, the General Court gave £100 towards the fort. In 1666, every male in town, above sixteen years of age, was required to take his turn in working upon it, and the town spent £320, and the next year it was ordered "that the great guns be carried to the fort with speed." In 1673, it was repaired, the "great artillery got ready for use, and all else done as this juncture requires." The juncture was apprehension of hostile movements by the Dutch. In 1690 it was again repaired and eleven great guns and ammunition were brought to the town. In 1699 it was known as Fort William, in honor of the king.



In 1706 there was a serious dispute between the House and the Governor and Council because the latter had paid the men in this fort without consulting the House.

In 1794, after the Revolution, the fort was ceded to the United States, and in 1799 the royal name it had borne for a hundred years was exchanged for that of Fort Pickering, in honor of the distinguished Timothy Pickering, who had been Secretary of State and War in Washington's cabinet. The day chosen for this purpose (October 30) was the sixty-fourth anniversary of the birth of President John Adams, which was everywhere celebrated with great rejoicing. The fort had just been rebuilt, under the superintendence of Jonathan Waldo, an apothecary of this place, and a capable man; and it was thought to be in some respects a model fortification, especially on account of semi-circular stone carriage-ways on which the guns were worked. On this patriotic occasion the Salem Artillery, Captain Gould, paraded in honor of the day. "At 12 o'clock the company marched to an eminence near the Fort, where the superintendent of the works, agreeable to the direction of the Secretary at War, made proclamation under a federal discharge of artillery, that the Fortress of the United States, formerly called Fort William was from that day forward to bear the name of Fort Pickering. The company then repaired to Captain Felt's where they dined . . . a number of toasts appropriate for the occasion were given; and they concluded the day with the decent regularity of citizen soldiers."

It had been hoped that the same day would be further honored by the launch of the Essex Frigate, and that the distinguished Secretary of War, General Alexander Hamilton, would be present. But the Essex was launched a month earlier, and General Hamilton did not visit Salem and the fort until the following June.

This ancient fort, although it never fired a hostile gun, seems to have been in fighting order continuously for all these years. It was garrisoned soon after it was built, and also in the time of the Dutch troubles, during the war with the French and Indians, during the Revolution, and in the war of 1812. Many persons now remember the brick garrison house and the barracks which stood within its stone walls and when its garrison consisted of a single sergeant, the last of them being Sergeant Cahoon. This was just before the war of the Rebellion.

The last reconstruction of this early fortification was during the war of the Rebellion, in 1863, when a conflict with England seemed likely to grow out of the Mason and Slidell affair. The old fort was then demolished, and new and more extensive works were constructed, with bomb-proofs, magazines, a ditch, platforms for heavy guns, and a line of earthworks in the rear extending across the island. When completed the fort was occupied by a garrison, consisting of the 12<sup>th</sup> unattached Company of Heavy Artillery, Capt. J. M. Richardson, and the heavy guns were mounted. But, happily, the fortification was not needed during the war, and after its evacuation it began to decay, so that it is now a ruined fortress.

In the early part of the war, barracks were built near where the dwelling of the light-keeper is,<sup>7</sup> and companies of volunteers were quartered there previous to leaving for the front. The first company to occupy this temporary camp was the "Andrew Guard," raised and commanded by the late General Cogswell, who became so distinguished. Subsequently, troops who joined General Butler's expedition to New Orleans were collected here, and others followed. For some months the island was the scene of great military activity and was visited by large numbers of people.

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<sup>7</sup> The lighthouse was first lighted in 1871.

## ESSEX FRIGATE BUILT HERE.

The building of the Essex Frigate, on Winter Island, in the summer of the year 1799, was a naval event of unusual interest and importance at the time of its occurrence. It was when war with France seemed to be imminent and hostilities had actually taken place on the sea. The administration of President John Adams was actively engaged in forming a navy for the United States, for, up to that time, we had none of any account. "Adams said 'let there be a navy' and there was a navy," was a spirited and laconic saying in those days. The patriotic citizens of Salem resolved to aid in this great work by building a frigate, at their own expense, and giving it to the government. Other large towns did the same.

The feeling against the French ran high, especially among the Federalists, who were then in a very large majority in Salem. They abhorred the then recent French Revolution, and detested the Jacobins and their successors. The proposition to build a Frigate was adopted and carried out with great zeal and enthusiasm.<sup>8</sup> In response to a patriotic appeal made for subscriptions the merchants of Salem pledged the very generous sum of \$74,700, with which the building of the vessel was commenced; but the final cost, including the rigging, was over \$150,000. An appeal was made to the public for suitable timber for the ship which was "to oppose French insolence and piracy." The patriotic federalists in the country towns lost no time in hurrying forward the best sticks in their woodlots as a contribution to the country. Danvers, Topsfield, Andover and Boxford, furnished their quotas of good

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<sup>8</sup> See an exhaustive account of the frigate Essex, by Capt. Edward H. Preble, U. S. N., in Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. X, part III.



white-oak trees, and so prompt was the response that in one month all the timber that was wanted was supplied.

The keel of the frigate was laid April 13, 1789, on the cove just south of the residence of the keeper of the lighthouse. The island immediately became the resort of hundreds of patriotic and curious citizens, who visited the shipyard daily. Connoisseurs pronounced a favorable opinion of the outlines of the hull as it rose upon the stocks. It is not recorded that there was even a single grumbler (strange to say) who detected errors in her build.

“Day by day the vessel grew,  
With timbers fashioned strong and true,  
Stemson and keelson and sternson knee.  
Till, framed with perfect symmetry,  
The skeleton ship rose up to view.”

The work was pressed with great vigor and success, and it was finally announced that the frigate would be launched on Sept. 30, at which time all those who were “curiously disposed” were invited to attend “and join in the Federal Salute.” During the closing week the island was thronged with eager spectators of the scene of which they were so proud. When the day arrived a vast number of people assembled on the hills and the rocks around the cove, and as the frigate slid into the water “with the most easy and graceful motion,” as an eye witness related, she was greeted “with the acclamations of thousands of spectators.” At the same time the battery on the hill near by thundered forth the Federal salute, which was returned by an armed vessel in the harbor. It was a great and joyous exhibition of patriotic and popular enthusiasm. All the sails and spars for this frigate were made in Salem, and she proved to be a splendid piece of naval architecture. She was soon equipped with men and guns and put in commission, and

as she sailed out of the harbor on Dec. 22, with flowing sheets and a favoring gale, she fired a parting salute which was returned from the great guns of Fort William.

It was the fortune of the Essex never to fight the French—as the troubles with that power were shortly settled. But in the war of 1812 with Great Britain, the Essex Frigate gained a renown which has given her an illustrious record in the history of the American Navy. She proved to be a very staunch and able vessel and the fastest ship in the United States navy. She was the first naval vessel of our country to pass around the Cape of Good Hope and of Cape Horn. She took the first naval prize in 1812—the English ship *Alert*, of twenty guns and ninety-eight men, which she captured in a short and sharp engagement of only eight minutes. Subsequently she took a larger number of prizes than any other American ship. Her heroic commander, Capt. David Porter, of imperishable fame, was finally vanquished, and was compelled to surrender the Essex to two English frigates of superior size, after a desperate and frightful conflict of two hours and a quarter off Valparaiso. The loss of the Essex, in this sanguinary combat, was fifty-eight men killed, and sixty-six wounded, a total of one hundred and twenty-four, or nearly half of all who were on board. Up to this time not a dollar had been drawn from the government to meet the expenses of the frigate. She had captured from the enemy all needed supplies, and even money for payment of the men. There was never a ship in our navy so successful before or since. Commodore Porter said it cost the British government near six millions of dollars to possess the Essex. After her capture she was added to the British navy in which she remained until she was sold at auction in 1837.

The Essex is also distinguished because of the great names she bore upon her rolls. Among those who served

on board the ship in their younger days were Commodores Preble, Barron, Bainbridge, Decatur, Stewart, and Admirals Porter and Farragut — a galaxy of naval heroes.

#### EXECUTION HILL.

Scenes quite different from those I have described occurred on Winter Island in the days when it was the place for public executions. Four persons were hanged there at different times. Bryan Sheehan in 1772, Isaac Coombs, an Indian, in 1786, Henry Blackburn, in 1796, and Stephen Merrill Clark, in 1821. Clark was hanged for arson — an unfortunate youth of seventeen years, misled by bad company, whose case excited such general and intense sympathy that the sad story is still often repeated. It was feared he would be rescued by violence from the officers of the law.

The gallows on these occasions was erected on the highest point of the island, a rocky slope near the Powder House. The customs at hangings in those days were sensational in the extreme. The utmost publicity was allowed, and in fact invited. Everybody attended who could get there, and whose nerves would permit them to gaze upon the harrowing spectacle. It was estimated that 12,000 persons witnessed the hanging of Bryan Sheehan, and doubtless as many or more attended the later hangings. The criminal was carried to the place of execution in a cart, sitting upon his coffin. He was arrayed in a white suit, or robe, with black trimmings. The procession, in which the clergy were prominent, was escorted from the meeting-house, or the jail, by a military company. Previous to the death-march it was usual to take the condemned man to a church to listen to a lugubrious sermon suited to the occasion. In the case of Coombs, he was taken to the Tabernacle, in the forenoon,



where Rev. Mr. Spaulding preached, Rev. Mr. Hopkins prayed and Rev. Dr. Bentley read the culprit's confession. Then, with a refinement of cruelty, the fellow was taken back to the jail until after dinner. In the afternoon he was again brought out, the mournful procession was re-formed, and the death-cart, the ghost-like criminal, the solemn clergy, the executioner and the military guard, marched in doleful array to Winter Island, where further religious exercises were had. The fatal cap and the noose were adjusted while the criminal stood in the cart, and the hanging was accomplished by simply driving the cart from under the victim, who was left dangling in the air.

When Sheehan was hanged, the Gazette stated that "a mulatto named George at the same time sat on the gallows, with a rope around his neck for the space of one Hour, and afterwards received 20 Stripes under the same for being concerned in a Riot at Cape Ann. He was sentenced to receive 39 but His Excellency the Governor was pleased to remit 19."

When Coombs was hanged, as we learn from the Gazette, the proceedings were attended "by the clergymen of this and the neighboring towns."

In speaking of these old-time methods and their repulsive aspects, Mary Alden Ward says, in her "Old Colony Days," "Since there were ten crimes that were capital in Massachusetts, sometimes the death sentence had to be passed. A hanging was an affair of the greatest interest. As much publicity as possible was given it for the sake of example. On the Sunday or the Lecture-day before the execution the condemned person was brought in chains to the church, and seated in a conspicuous place, to listen to a sermon on his crime. No one failed to be at church on that day; and these improving discourses

were printed and sold in great numbers. The whole community made it a point to be in at the death. Even a kindly man like Judge Sewall never stayed away from a hanging."

#### MILITARY ENCAMPMENTS.

We turn once more from these gruesome scenes to the time when the island was occupied for several years as a camping ground for the Massachusetts volunteer militia. This was first in August, 1853, when the Second Division encamped here in "Camp Sutton" during three days, and again in 1855. In September, 1856, the Fourth Brigade was here, in "Camp Edmunds." In August, 1858, the Second Division occupied the field as "Camp Banks." These were great occasions, distinguished by the splendors of the military reviews, and the vast crowds of people who were attracted to the show. The island was never before so gay as this. The numerous tents of the soldiery, the special display at headquarters, the evolutions of the troops, the music of many bands, the pomp and circumstance of the show, made these encampments very famous. The Neck was covered all along the road with tents and shanties, with all the accessories of such military events, and the great clouds of dust which were swept along by the wind showed where the multitude on foot and in vehicles were struggling on towards the camp. So many persons remember these camps, and took part in them, that no further notice of them need be taken. There is an excellent lithograph in colors of "Camp Banks" (1858), published by Col. J. A. Batchelder, on exhibition at the Institute, which gives a very faithful and animated representation of this celebrated military display. It also shows the old fort in detail, its interior buildings and its exterior walls.

## THE PROPRIETORSHIP.

It appears from what I have said that Winter Island was originally common land of the town. At an early day a portion at the western end was set off by the old stone wall and granted to some one, perhaps to William Hollingsworth. The rights of the fishermen on the island seem to have expired when they left the business. In 1755, Capt. Richard Derby acquired the Powder House premises. In 1799, the fort was ceded to the United States. And thus matters remained until the War of the Rebellion when, in 1864, the city government ceded so much of the island as remained to it to the United States "for the purpose of locating further works for the defence of our harbor." The deed provided, however, that the property should revert to the city whenever it should cease to be used for defensive works. In 1867, the portion of the island unoccupied by the fort was turned over by the War Department to the city for use until it should be again wanted for works of defence. In 1869, the city's interest in the island, subject to the restrictions mentioned, was conveyed by deed to the Plummer Farm School for its uses. And this is the way the matter stands to-day: the United States owns the Island (except the cottagers' part) and the Plummer Farm School has the temporary use of it until needed for military purposes. The city has no interest in it.

The act of the city in ceding this valuable territory has sometimes been criticised by persons ignorant of the circumstances attending the conveyance. As I was a party to the transaction I may do a service by making a brief statement of the whole matter. At the time when a war with England seemed almost unavoidable, the city authorities were approached, indirectly and quietly, by Major



General Benham, of the United States Army, with the statement that the United States proposed to erect ample fortifications here for the defence of our harbor, which was considered to be a vulnerable point, and it was intimated that it would be a graceful and patriotic act for the city to cede the Island to the national government. Accompanying this suggestion was the further hint that the United States would take the Island in any event, and it would be better for the city to save its credit and do as New Bedford and other places had done,—hasten to give the needed domain. It was also quietly and unofficially suggested that, in the event of actual war, the government would need a harbor of refuge for vessels which could not be accommodated at the Charlestown Navy Yard, and that Salem had the nearest and best harbor for this purpose. Under the influence of this gentle but positive pressure of the military authorities, and the delusive allurements held forth from the same quarter, but, above all, under the influence of the ardent patriotism then prevailing, which was prepared to sacrifice everything for the country, the city of Salem promptly and cheerfully ceded Winter Island to the United States.

RECORD OF DEATHS IN TOPSFIELD.  
1658-1800.

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COMPILED FROM THE TOWN AND CHURCH RECORDS AND  
RETURNS MADE TO THE COUNTY COURT.

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BY GEO. FRIS. DOW.

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George Bunker dyed the 26th of May, 1658.

John Redington Sonn of John Redington dyed the  
8 [?] of March 1659.

Issaack Redington son of Abraham Redington dyed  
May 4<sup>th</sup> 1659.

A Sonn of Isaack Comings borne & dyed 28 of Agust  
1660.

Damaris daughter of Frances Pabody died the 19  
decemb. 1660.

Daniel Clarke son of Daniel Clarke dyed the 17 of  
January 1660-1.

Symon Sonn of frances Bates dyed the 29 of Jan  
1660-1.

Elizabeth daugh : of George Hadley dyed 2 of March  
1660-1.

A daughter of Edmond Towne dyed 7 of Sept. 1661.

Abigail daughter of George Hadley dyed the 12 of  
Sept. 1661.

John Dorman Son of Tho. Dorman dyed the 16 of  
January 1661-2.

The Birth & Death of a sonn of Issaack Comings 6 of Decemb. 1662.

The Birth & Death of a Sonn of Edmond Towne 7 March 1662-3.

The Death of Nathan Wiles son of John Wiles 17 March 1662-3.

Prisillah the wife of John Wild dyed the 16<sup>th</sup> of Aprill 1663.

Phebye the wife of Zacheous Gould died the 20 of Sept. 1663.

Ellen Wife of Thomas Dorman Senn<sup>r</sup> dyed the 27 of february 1667-8.

John sonn to Thomas Perkins dyed the 19 of May 1668.

Robert Andrews dyed the 29<sup>th</sup> of May 1668.

Phebe daugh : of Joseph Towne dyed the 3 of January 1668-9.

Thomas Dorman Senior dyed the 25 of Aprill 1670.

The daughter of John Hovey dyed the 2 of March 1670-1.

John Davis dyed the 24th of december 1672.

William Son of John Comings the 30th of March 1672 [1673?]

Daniell Son of Thomas Dorman dyed the 10th of august 1673.

Sarah daughter of Robert Smith dyed the 28 of August 1673.

John Dorman Son of Thomas Dorman dyed the 7<sup>th</sup> of November 1674.

Mary Curtice daugh : of Zacheous Curtice dyed 31 of decemb. 1674.

Mary the wife of John How dyed the 2<sup>th</sup> of March 1676-7.

Thomas son of John Lane dyed the 6<sup>th</sup> of March 1676-7.



Samuell Son of Francis Pabody the 13 of September 1677.

Isaack Averill son of William Averill dyed the 11<sup>th</sup> of June 1680.

Mr William Perkins dyed the 21<sup>th</sup> of May 1682.

Cathron Wakling wife of Luke dyed the 8 february 1682-3.

Luke Wakling dyed the 18 of february 1682-3.

The Death of Isaack Easty son of Joseph & Jane Easty y<sup>e</sup> 30 of April, 1683.

The death of Jn<sup>o</sup> Town son to Jn<sup>o</sup> & Mary Town y<sup>e</sup> 29 of Sept. 1683.

The death of Mary Curtis daughter To Zaccheus & Mary Curtis y<sup>e</sup> 21 of Octobr 1683.

The death of Zaccheus Curtis son to Zaccheus & Mary Curtis y<sup>e</sup> 7 of Novembr 1683.

Thomas Perkins, Deacon, Died may 7<sup>th</sup> [16] 86.

Prisilla Lake y<sup>e</sup> wife of Henry Lake dyed 23 March 1688.

The death of Mary daughter of Lieut. John Gould 11 of May 1689.

Jacob Pabody sen<sup>r</sup> died y<sup>e</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> of nouember 1689.

The Death of John Redington y<sup>e</sup> 15 November 1690.

The Death of hannah wife of Tim<sup>th</sup> Perkins y<sup>e</sup> 14 of november 1690.

The death of John Perkins y<sup>e</sup> 5 of March 1690.

The death of Elizabeth Perkins y<sup>e</sup> 1 of April 1690.

Mary daughter of Daniell and Damaris Clark dyed on y<sup>e</sup> 22 of august 1694.

John son of John and Mary Hovey died y<sup>e</sup> 15 of June 1695.

Mr William Pirkins sener departed this life on y<sup>e</sup> last day of october 1695.

Hannah daughter of Capt. John and Sarah How Departed this life 1<sup>th</sup> of nouember 1695.

John Prichet senior his daughter Elisabeth Prichet departed this life on y<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> of nouember 1695.

John Prichet senior his daughter Sarah Prichet departed this life on y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> of december 1695.

Phillip Knite iun<sup>r</sup> departed this life y<sup>e</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> august 1696.

William son of William and Margit Towne dyed on y<sup>e</sup> 23 day of december 1697.

John Endicut son of Mr Zarobabell & Grace Endicut deseased y<sup>e</sup> 2 day of fabruary 1697 or 8.

Lieu<sup>t</sup> ffrancis Pabody departed this life on ye 19<sup>th</sup> day of fabruary 1697 or 8.

Damarus daughter of Daniell and Damaris Clark dyed on y<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> of June 1698.

William Pirkins iuner departed this life on y<sup>e</sup> eight day of July 1698.

John son of John and Presilah Curtious died on y<sup>e</sup> 27 of august 1698.

Nathan Pirkins dyed on y<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> of September 1699.

Susanah daughter Ebinesar and Susannah Averill died y<sup>e</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> of nouember 1699.

John Perly Dyed June 23<sup>d</sup> 1700.

John French his wife drown<sup>d</sup> herself may 13, 1701.

Phebe French dyed on ye 14<sup>th</sup> of may 1701. [Town R'd].

John son of John and Elisabeth Pirkins Dyed on y<sup>e</sup> fifth of June 1703.

James Waters Dyed 11 Septem. 1704.

Ens. Jacob Towne Departed this life on y<sup>e</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> of Novem<sup>r</sup>. 1704.

Elisha Perkins Jun<sup>r</sup> Dyed on the 24<sup>th</sup> of Decem<sup>r</sup>. 1704.

Mary Peabody y<sup>e</sup> wife of Lieut. ffrancis Peabody Departed this Life on the 9<sup>th</sup> of Aprill 1705.

John Willd Sen<sup>r</sup> Departed this life on the 14 of May 1705.

Mary Dorman the Wife of Lieut Ephraim Dorman Dyed on 14<sup>th</sup> of November 1705.

Deborah Daughter of Thomas and Marsy Gould Dyed on y<sup>e</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> Day of January 1706.

Sarah Daughter of John and Presilah Curtious Dyed on y<sup>e</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> of Mar<sup>h</sup> 1706.

Asa Perly Dyed April 14<sup>th</sup> 1706.

Isaac Burton sen<sup>r</sup> Dyed on y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> Day of May 1706.

Stebens Cummings Dyed by the hands of the Indians on the third Day of July 1706.

Mr Daniel Borman Departed this Life on 27 day of Aprill 1708.

Sarah Gould Wife of Capt. John Gould departed this life on the 20<sup>th</sup> Day of Janu<sup>y</sup> 1708-9.

Anne Daughter of Ivory and Anna Hovey Died on y<sup>e</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> of July 1709.

Abigail Daughter of Ivory and Anna Hovey died on y<sup>e</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> of august 1709.

Capt. John Gould departed this life on the 26<sup>th</sup> of Jany 1709-10.

Samuel son of ffrancis and Mary Pabody Died on y<sup>e</sup> 23<sup>d</sup> Day of January 1711.

Anne Daughter of Ivory and Anne Hovey Died on y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> of ffebruary 1711.

Dorcas Hovey y<sup>e</sup> Wife of Sarg<sup>t</sup> John Hovey departed this life on the fifth of Nover<sup>r</sup> 1711.

Elisabeth Town y<sup>e</sup> Wife of John Town Dyed on y<sup>e</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> Day of Decem<sup>r</sup> 1711.

Hannah Daughter of John and Prissilah Curtis Dyed on y<sup>e</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> Day of octo. 1712.

Joseph Town Sen<sup>r</sup> Dyed on y<sup>e</sup>——of——1713.

Thomas Howlett Dyed on the 10<sup>th</sup> Day of february 1713.



John Town Dyed on y<sup>e</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> of March 1713-4.

Matthew Stanley Son of Samuel Stanley Sen<sup>r</sup> Dyed on the 16<sup>th</sup> of April 1714.

Kathrin Perkins Dyed on the 2<sup>d</sup> Day of July 1714.

Matthew son of Samuel Stanley Jun<sup>r</sup> and Mary his wife Dyed on y<sup>e</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> of Novem<sup>r</sup> 1714.

Prissilah Curtis y<sup>e</sup> wife of John Curtis Dyed on the 16<sup>th</sup> of June 1715.

Meriam Stanley the wife of Jacob Stanley Died on the 10<sup>th</sup> Day of April 1716.

Daniel Averell y<sup>e</sup> Son of Nathaniel Averell Dyed on y<sup>e</sup> sixth Day of March 1716-7.

Juleenea Daughter of Ephrim and Mary Willd deceased on y<sup>e</sup> 22 of March 1716-17.

Sarah Howlett the wife of Samuel Howlett Dyed on the 26<sup>th</sup> Day of March 1717.

Ebenezer Averell Dyed on y<sup>e</sup> 22 Day of December 1717.

M<sup>r</sup> John Bradstreet Departed this Life on the 11 day of Jenery 1717-18.

Capt. Thomas Baker Died on ye 18<sup>th</sup> Day of March 1717-18.

Phebe daughter of William and Phebe Porter departed this Life on the 3 day of July 1718.

Prisillah daughter of L<sup>t</sup> Thomas Baker and Mary his Wife died on the 17 day of May 1719.

Deacon Samuel Howlett Departed this Life March y<sup>e</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1720.

Lieu<sup>t</sup> Ephraim Dorman Departed this Life August 25, 1721.

Capt. Tobijah Perkins Departed this Life on y<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> Day of April 1723.

Thomas son of Jacob and Rebeckah Peabody Departed this Life y<sup>e</sup> 25 day of Sept. 1723.

Jonathan Borman Departed this Life on y<sup>e</sup> 3 day of October 1723.

Mercy Daughter of Jacob & Mercy Dorman Departed this Life on y<sup>e</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> of July 1724.

Quartermaster Ephraim Willdes Departed this Life on y<sup>e</sup> second Day of Aprill 1725.

The Reverend Mr. Joseph Capen Departed this Life on the Last Day of June 1725.

Capt. Thomas Baker y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> Died on the——Day of September 1725.

Amos Willdes the son of Ephraim and Mary Willdes Departed this Life on y<sup>e</sup> 25 Day of July 1726.

Rebecca daughter of Samuel and Hannah Curtis Died on y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> Day of December 1726.

Jacob Son of Jacob & Mercy Dorman Died on y<sup>e</sup> Second Day of July 1727.

Damaris Wife of Daniel Clark Departed this Life on y<sup>e</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> Day of Sept. 1727.

Capt John How, who was in his 92<sup>d</sup> year died Decem<sup>br</sup> 16, 1728.

Ensign Amos Dorman died Jan<sup>ry</sup> 16, 1728-9.

Mary y<sup>e</sup> child of Nicholas & Kezia Creed died Jan<sup>ry</sup> 29, 1728-9.

Jerusha y<sup>e</sup> child of Nicholas & Kezia Creed died Feb. 4, 1728-9.

The widow Mary Averell died March 14, 1728-9.

Sarah Pricherd y<sup>e</sup> wife of John Pricherd died April 28, 1729.

John y<sup>e</sup> child of Ephraim and Mary Smith died May 26, 1729.

Joseph y<sup>e</sup> child of Joseph and Martha Robinson died May 30, 1729.

Jonathan y<sup>e</sup> child of Jonathan and Elisabeth Perkins died May 31, 1729.

Jemima y<sup>e</sup> child of Joseph Towne Jun<sup>r</sup> and Jemima died June 24, 1729.

Sarah Averell y<sup>e</sup> wife of Nathanael Averell died July 11, 1729.

Timothy y<sup>e</sup> child of Timothy and Kezia Perkins died July 17, 1729.

Ruth Porter y<sup>e</sup> Daughter of William Porter Died July 20, 1729.

Dorcas y<sup>e</sup> child of Jacob and Elisabeth Reddington died Dec<sup>m</sup> 1, 1729.

Joseph son of Joseph and Abigail Cumings Died of the Smal Pox on y<sup>e</sup> Twenty fourth Day of Decem<sup>r</sup> 1729.

Abigail Towne y<sup>e</sup> wife of Joseph Towne•Sen<sup>r</sup> died Jan<sup>ry</sup> 8, 1729–30.

The widow Abigail Cummings died of y<sup>e</sup> Small Pox Jan<sup>ry</sup> 10, 1729–30.

Damaris Daughter of Jacob & Mercy Dorman Departed this Life on the 29<sup>th</sup> Day of January 1730.

the widow Elisabeth Perkins died February 6, 1729–30.

Micall Dwinells wife died March 26, 1730.

Micall Coffeens child died March 27, 1730.

Joseph Bowerys child died April 12, 1730.

the widow Sarah How died May 6, 1730.

Jacob Robinson died Nov<sup>m</sup> 30, 1730.

Richard Towne Child died Jan<sup>ry</sup> 18, 1730–31.

John Prichard died Febr<sup>ry</sup> 7, 1730–31.

the widow Mary Prichard died March 5, 1730–31.

David Commings Child died April 5, 1731.

Jonathan son of David and Annah Commings Died on the first Day of Aprill 1731.

Joseph Dwinells Child died May 3, 1731.

Elijah son to Israel and Mercy Clark Departed this Life on y<sup>e</sup> ninth Day of May 1731.



Mical Dwinells Child died August 4, 1731.

Isaac How of Falmouth died of y<sup>e</sup> Small Pox November 12<sup>th</sup> 1731.

Joseph Robinsons Child died January 17, 1731-32.

Nathan<sup>ll</sup> Wood died February 1<sup>st</sup> 1731-32.

Nathan<sup>ll</sup> Hoods Wife died March 1<sup>st</sup> 1732.

Thomas Bakers Child died April 1<sup>st</sup> 1732.

Joseph Towns Child died April 25<sup>th</sup>, 1732.

John Capen died April 26<sup>th</sup>, 1732.

Lydia How died May 14<sup>th</sup>, 1732.

Deacon Daniel Reddington died September 27<sup>th</sup>, 1732.

Jacob Estey died October 3, 1732.

the Widow Elizabeth Reddington died October 8<sup>th</sup>, 1732.

Jacob Towne y<sup>e</sup> son of Micall Dwinell Jun<sup>rs</sup> wife died October 13, 1732.

Josiah Kenneys wife died October 16, 1732.

Zacheus Perkins died Dec<sup>m</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>, 1732.

Stephen Fairfields child died December 30, 1732.

John Curtice died February 23, 1732-3.

Nicholas Crees child died April 21, 1733.

Eliezer Lake died May 22, 1733, he was in his 98<sup>th</sup> year w<sup>n</sup> he died.

Tobijah Perkins's Child died October 21, 1733.

Mical Dwinell's Child died January 4, 1733-4.

Cap<sup>t</sup> Joseph Goulds Child died March 19, 1733-4.

Nathan Hoods Child died May 24, 1734.

Nathan Hoods Child died May 26, 1734.

Rebeckah Perkins the wife of Thomas Perkins died August 13, 1734.

Cap<sup>t</sup> Joseph Goulds Daughter Elizabeth died August 28, 1734.

Stephen Johnson died August 29, 1734.

Sarah How y<sup>e</sup> Daughter of Benj<sup>m</sup> How died September 2, 1734.

Cap<sup>t</sup> Joseph Goulds son Daniel died September 15, 1734.

Joseph Robinson died September 26, 1734.

Richard Townes Daughter Sarah died February 1, 1734-5.

Kezia Perkins y<sup>e</sup> wife of Timothy Perkins Jun<sup>r</sup> died April 5, 1735.

Phineas Reddington's son Phineas died May 2, 1735.

Deacon John Howlett died September 7, 1735.

the widow Sarah Perkins died october 1<sup>st</sup>, 1735.

Joseph Houeys Child died November 5, 1735.

Jacob Dorman's Child died November 20, 1735.

Richerd Towne's wife died December 6, 1735.

Phebe Emery the wife of Zachariah Emery died December 15, 1735.

Abigail Peabody y<sup>e</sup> Daughter of Deacon Jacob Peabody died May 12, 1736.

Martha Peabody y<sup>e</sup> Daughter of Deacon Jacob Peabody died June 17, 1736.

Elizabeth Peabody y<sup>e</sup> Daughter of Deacon Jacob Peabody died June 18, 1736.

Sarah Bradstreet the wife of Sam<sup>l</sup> Bradstreet died June 19, 1736.

Nathanael Peabody the son of Deacon Jacob Peabody died June 25, 1736.

Jacob Dorman's son David died June 29, 1736.

Susannah Towne y<sup>e</sup> wife of Benja<sup>m</sup> Towne died July 5, 1736.

Jacob Peabody Jun<sup>r</sup> his Child died July 26, 1736.

Abiel Averell y<sup>e</sup> Daughter of y<sup>e</sup> widow Ann Averell died Aug<sup>st</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> 1736.

Dudley y<sup>e</sup> youngest Child of Joseph Peabody died Aug<sup>st</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> 1736.

Joseph y<sup>e</sup> eldest Child of Joseph Peabody died Aug<sup>st</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> 1736.

Yeats Gould died August 11<sup>th</sup> 1736.

Jacob y<sup>e</sup> Child of Joseph Peabody died August 14<sup>th</sup> 1736.

Martha Perkins y<sup>e</sup> wife of John Perkins Jun<sup>r</sup> died August 16, 1736.

Nathanael Boardman Jun<sup>r</sup> died August 26, 1736.

Asa y<sup>e</sup> Child of Josiah Kenney died Aug<sup>st</sup> 31, 1736.

Sarah y<sup>e</sup> Child of Phinehas Reddington died September 9<sup>th</sup> 1736.

Abigail Boardman the Daughter of Nathanael Boardman died September 13<sup>th</sup> 1736.

Elizabeth y<sup>e</sup> Child of James Leslie died September the 21<sup>st</sup> 1736.

Leu<sup>t</sup> Tobijah Perkin's Son Tobijah died September 26, 1736.

Jonathan y<sup>e</sup> Child of Lieut Tobijah Perkins died Sept 28, 1736.

James y<sup>e</sup> Child of James Lesslie died September y<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> 1736 and

Edmund y<sup>e</sup> Child of Leu<sup>t</sup> Tobijah Perkins died also y<sup>e</sup> same Day, viz. on Sep<sup>t</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> 1736.

Sarah y<sup>e</sup> Daughter of Daniel Reddington died October y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> 1736.

Daniel y<sup>e</sup> Child of Lieut Tobijah Perkins died October y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> 1736.

William y<sup>e</sup> Child of W<sup>m</sup> Perkins died October y<sup>e</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> 1736.

Dorcas y<sup>e</sup> Child of Daniel Reddington died October 23, 1736.

Thomas and Margaret Children of Daniel Reddington died October y<sup>e</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1736.

Mary y<sup>e</sup> Daughter of John Wildes died November 6, 1736.

Deborah y<sup>e</sup> child of William Rogers died November y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> 1736.

Katharine Perkins died November the 16<sup>th</sup> 1736.



John Wildes son Ephraim died November 26, 1736.

Ephraim Wildes son to John & Phebe Wildes Departed this Life November y<sup>e</sup> 25, 1736.

Abigail More y<sup>e</sup> Daughter of Joseph Towne's wife died December 9, 1736.

Eunice y<sup>e</sup> youngest child of Joseph Towne and Daniel y<sup>e</sup> eldest son of Nathanael Porter Jun<sup>r</sup> died December the 19<sup>th</sup> 1736.

Thomas y<sup>e</sup> eldest son of Ephraim Wildes died December 20, 1736.

Mary y<sup>e</sup> wife of Nathan<sup>l</sup> Porter Jun<sup>r</sup> died Decem<sup>br</sup> 23, 1736.

Nathana<sup>l</sup> y<sup>e</sup> son of Nathan<sup>l</sup> Porter Jun<sup>r</sup> died Decem<sup>br</sup> 24, 1736.

Edmond Towne and Rebeckah y<sup>e</sup> youngest Child of y<sup>e</sup> widow Johnson died December y<sup>e</sup> 25<sup>th</sup>, 1736.

Susannah Averell died December y<sup>e</sup> 26<sup>th</sup>, 1736.

Mary y<sup>e</sup> Child of Nathan<sup>l</sup> Porter Jun<sup>r</sup> died December y<sup>e</sup> 31<sup>st</sup>, 1736.

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having purposed (if my own Life be continued) not only to note down y<sup>e</sup> Time of every particular Person's Death, but also y<sup>e</sup> number of Deaths in y<sup>e</sup> year, I shall therefore here give y<sup>e</sup> number of Deaths y<sup>t</sup> have been from year to year, since my ordination to y<sup>e</sup> year 1736. The first y<sup>t</sup> died after my ordination was Cap<sup>t</sup> John How, December 16, 1728. Then in y<sup>e</sup> years

1729 died 14.

1730 died 09.

1731 died 08.

1732 died 14.

1733 died 04.

1734 died 10.

1735 died 09.

1736 died 43.

An Account of y<sup>e</sup> Deaths in y<sup>e</sup> year 1737.

			Numb.
January	8.	Josiah Kenney,	1 <sup>st</sup>
January	21.	Jeremiah Town's child,	2 <sup>d</sup>
February	7.	Doctor Dwinells wife,	3 <sup>d</sup>
February	15.	Tho <sup>s</sup> Howletts Daughter Alice,	4 <sup>th</sup>
February	24.	Aaron Esteys Daughter Abigail,	5 <sup>th</sup>
February	28.	Aaron Esteys Daughter Esther,	6 <sup>th</sup>
March	17.	Richerd Stephens youngest child,	7 <sup>th</sup>
March	19.	Richard Stevens's son Will <sup>m</sup> ,	8 <sup>th</sup>
March	23.	Richard Stevens's Daughter Martha,	9 <sup>th</sup>
April	8 <sup>th</sup> .	Thomas Howletts Daughter Lydia,	10 <sup>th</sup>
May	1 <sup>st</sup> .	Luke Averells Daughter Mary,	11 <sup>th</sup>
		and Margaret King at the house of Mr John Hovey,	12 <sup>th</sup>
May	3.	Luke Averells son Moses,	13 <sup>th</sup>
May	7.	Mary Hovey y <sup>e</sup> wife of John Hovey,	14 <sup>th</sup>
May	14.	Hannah Averell,	15 <sup>th</sup>
May	18.	Joseph Boardman,	16 <sup>th</sup>
June	5.	Pheebe How y <sup>e</sup> wife of Joseph How,	17 <sup>th</sup>
September	10.	Jacob Dorman's Daughter Sarah,	18 <sup>th</sup>
December	5.	y <sup>e</sup> widow Sarah Perkins,	19 <sup>th</sup>

Deaths in y<sup>e</sup> year 1738.

			Numb.
January	4 <sup>th</sup>	Sam <sup>ll</sup> a Child y <sup>e</sup> son of Nathan <sup>ll</sup> Hood Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	1 <sup>st</sup>
January	9 <sup>th</sup>	Mary a Child y <sup>e</sup> Daughter of Nathan Hood,	2 <sup>d</sup>
February	7 <sup>th</sup>	Sarah a Child y <sup>e</sup> Daughter of Israel Clark,	3 <sup>d</sup>
March	25.	Hannah Towne the wife of Gideon Towne,	4 <sup>th</sup>

April	26.	Jacob Esteys Child,	5 <sup>th</sup>
May	30.	George Bixbys son Enos a child,	6 <sup>th</sup>
June	19.	Matthew Peabody's son an infant,	7 <sup>th</sup>
August	1.	Simon Bradstreet,	8 <sup>th</sup>
August	7.	Timothy Perkins,	9 <sup>th</sup>
August	12.	Lydia a child, y <sup>e</sup> Daughter of Aaron Hubbard,	10 <sup>th</sup>
October	19.	Damaras an infant y <sup>e</sup> Daughter of Jacob Dorman,	11 <sup>th</sup>

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Deaths in y<sup>e</sup> year 1739.

January	13.	Isaac Peabody in the 42 <sup>nd</sup> year of his age,	1
January	23.	Liu <sup>t</sup> Joseph Dormans Child,	2
February	1.	Richerd a child, y <sup>e</sup> son of Richerd Town,	3
April	21.	Prudence a child y <sup>e</sup> Daughter of Jacob Perkins,	4
April	29.	Liu <sup>t</sup> Zacheus Gould,	5
May	16.	Phinehas a child y <sup>e</sup> son of Phinehas Reddington.	6
June	2.	widow Abigail Dwinell,	7
June	26.	Sam <sup>l</sup> an Infant y <sup>e</sup> son of Dan Clark,	8
July	7.	Moses an infant y <sup>e</sup> son of Luke Averell,	9
August	1.	Ruth Towne,	10
September	1.	Abner a child y <sup>e</sup> son of Thomas Gould Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	11
September	3.	Ruth a child y <sup>e</sup> Daughter of John Dwinell Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	12
October	2.	Joseph Towns wife,	13
October	23.	Joseph Rhodes supposed to be in his 97 <sup>th</sup> year,	14



November	18.	Mical Dwinell Jun <sup>r</sup> his youngest Child, an infant,	15
November	23.	Jeremiah Towns child, an infant,	16
December	8.	Abigail Towne, y <sup>e</sup> Daughter of John Towne,	17
December	21.	John Curtice Jun <sup>r</sup> y <sup>e</sup> son of y <sup>e</sup> widow Joanna Curtice,	18
December	22.	Lydia Gould y <sup>e</sup> wife of Daniel Gould,	19
December	24.	Elizabeth Towne a child y <sup>e</sup> Daughter of Israel Towne,	20
December	27.	Abigail Emerson y <sup>e</sup> wife of Jonathan Emerson,	21

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Deaths in y<sup>e</sup> year 1740.

January	14.	Pheebe Towne y <sup>e</sup> wife of Jacob Towne,	1
		Daniel y <sup>e</sup> son of Amos Dorman, an infant,	2
February	25.	Tho <sup>s</sup> Bakers youngest child, an in- fant,	3
Febr <sup>ry</sup>	27.	y <sup>e</sup> widow Marlew (?) Clough,	4
March	10.	Susanna an infant y <sup>e</sup> Daughter of John Dwinell Jun <sup>r</sup>	5
June	6.	Mehetabel Peabody y <sup>e</sup> wife of Mat- thew Peabody,	6
June	21.	the widow Elizabeth Gould,	7
October	17.	the widow Bathsheba Howlet,	8
Nov <sup>m</sup>	19.	the widow Mehitabel Averell,	9

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Deaths in y<sup>e</sup> year 1741.

February	9.	Anna y <sup>e</sup> wife of David Cummings,	1
February	13.	Elizabeth an Infant y <sup>e</sup> Daughter of David Cummings,	2

February	18.	Elisha Perkins,	3
March	11.	Mercy Towne,	4
May	5.	Susannah Smith y <sup>e</sup> Daughter of Sam <sup>l</sup> Smith,	5
August	10.	Dan an infant y <sup>e</sup> son of Dan Clarke,	6
August	11.	Sarah a child, y <sup>e</sup> Daughter of Jacob Peabody Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	7
September	17.	Anna a child ye Daughter of Samuel Masters (?)	8
September	23.	Elizabeth a child, y <sup>e</sup> Daughter of Samuel Masters (?)	9
October	4.	Jacob Towne,	10
October	31.	Dinah y <sup>e</sup> wife of Philip Towne,	11
November	5.	the widow Hannah Abbott,	12
December	23.	John Dwinell Jun <sup>r</sup> his Daughter an infant,	13
December	26.	Oliver a child ye son of John Spalden,	14

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Deaths in y<sup>e</sup> year 1742.

January	28.	John Dwinell,	1
February	6.	Mary Dwinell, her daughter, an Infant,	2
February	27.	Joseph How,	3
February	28.	John Perkins's son John,	4
May	12.	Philip Neeland,	5
August	24.	Joseph Herrick Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	6
September	3.	Sarah Dwinell,	7
September	16.	Elisabeth an infant y <sup>e</sup> Daughter of Jeremiah Towne,	8

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Deaths in y<sup>e</sup> year 1743.

January	19.	Edmund Towne,	1
February	4.	Elisabeth, an infant y <sup>e</sup> Daughter of Eleazer Gould,	

May	29.	Lydia, y <sup>e</sup> wife of Eleazer Lake,	3
July	3.	Ephraim, an infant y <sup>e</sup> son of Ephraim Wildes,	4
July	6.	Elijah, an infant y <sup>e</sup> son of Ephraim Wildes,	5
July	17.	Hannah Lummucks,	6
August	23.	Dudley Bradstreet,	7
September	13.	Jacob Dwinell's youngest Child, an infant,	8
October	18.	Madam Capen Relict of y <sup>e</sup> Rev <sup>r</sup> m <sup>r</sup> Capen,	9
October	23.	Daniel Reddingtons wife,	10

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Deaths in y<sup>e</sup> year 1744.

February	5.	John Dwinell,	1
April	23.	Jacob Dwinell Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	2
June	10.	Elisha a child, y <sup>e</sup> son of Jacob Perkins,	3
July	13.	Ruth an infant y <sup>e</sup> Daughter of y <sup>e</sup> widow Susanna Dwinell,	4
July	22.	Deborah y <sup>e</sup> wife of W <sup>m</sup> Rogers,	5
August	4.	Deborah an infant y <sup>e</sup> Daughter of W <sup>m</sup> Rogers,	6
September	25.	Priscilla Smith y <sup>e</sup> wife of Sam <sup>l</sup> Smith Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	7
November	7.	y <sup>e</sup> widow Hannah Clark,	8
November	20.	Lieu <sup>t</sup> Joseph Dormans youngest son, an infant,	9

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Deaths in y<sup>e</sup> year 1745.

March	13.	W <sup>m</sup> y <sup>e</sup> son of Aaron Estey,	1
April	7.	y <sup>e</sup> widow Sarah Bradstreet,	2



April	14.	Thomas Bakers youngest child an infant,	3
April	26.	Pheebe, a child y <sup>e</sup> Daughter of Nathan <sup>l</sup> Porter Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	4
June	3.	Pomp, a Negro servant man belonging to Doctor Dexter,	5
June	15.	Jonathan, an infant, y <sup>e</sup> son of Nathan <sup>l</sup> Loe,	6
July	1.	John, an infant, ye son of John Spalden,	7
July	6.	Elizabeth, a child y <sup>e</sup> Daughter of John Batcheller,	8
July	18.	Jacob Robinsons youngest child an infant,	9
August	23.	The widow Mary Curtis in y <sup>e</sup> 98 <sup>th</sup> year of her age,	10
August	24.	Mary an Infant y <sup>e</sup> Daughter of John Symonds,	11
October	3.	Isaac Perkins two sons, infants, 12 & 13	12
October	20.	Daniel Davis,	14

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Deaths in y<sup>e</sup> year 1746.

January	19.	widow Spalden,	1
February	9.	Dinah, a Negro servant woman belonging to Tho <sup>s</sup> Baker,	2
May	7.	Dorcas a child y <sup>e</sup> Daughter of Thomas Gould Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	3
May	31.	Lydia y <sup>e</sup> wife of Nathan <sup>l</sup> Averell,	4
July	18.	Nathan <sup>l</sup> a child y <sup>e</sup> son of Solomon Gould,	5
September	1.	Abigail y <sup>e</sup> wife of John Towne,	6
September	14.	Thomas Howlett,	7
December	25.	Elisha Towne Jun <sup>r</sup> youngest child, a Daughter, an infant,	8
		a Negro Servant Child,	9

Deaths in y<sup>e</sup> year 1747.

Febry	14.	David Cummings's Daughter an infant,	1
April	15.	John y <sup>e</sup> son of John Le-Favour an infant,	2
April	21.	Abigail an infant the Daughter of Joseph Dorman,	3
May	19.	Joseph Dwinell who was drowned, attempting to swim over y <sup>e</sup> River,	4
June	8.	Eleazer, y <sup>e</sup> son of Luke Averell, a youth,	5
June	29.	John Hoods Daughter, an infant,	6
August	5.	Sam <sup>l</sup> a child, y <sup>e</sup> son of George Dwinell,	7
September	18.	Simon Bradstreet Jun <sup>r</sup>	8
September	24.	John an infant son of Elisha Cummings,	9
October	5.	Tho <sup>s</sup> Dwinell,	10
October	7.	widow Mary Griffin,	11
October	29.	Priscilla Griffinds,	12
November	3.	Ruth, Daughter of Ensign Daniel Gould,	13
November	8.	Lydia Daughter of Ensign Daniel Gould,	14
November	22.	Daniel a youth, son of Ensign Daniel Gould,	15
December	10.	Benjamin a child, son of y <sup>e</sup> widow Esther Bixby,	16
December	15.	John an infant, son of John Perkins Third,	17
December	16.	Benjamin a child, son of Thomas Gould Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	18

December 25.	Elizabeth a child, Daughter of John Perkins, Third,	19
	Three Negro Children also died in y <sup>e</sup> year,	20 21 22

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Deaths in y<sup>e</sup> year 1748.

January	1.	Joseph, an infant son of John & Eliz <sup>bth</sup> Emerson,	1
		Hannah, wife of David Balch,	2
January	2.	Mercy, a child Daughter of Tho <sup>s</sup> Gould, Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	3
January	5.	David a Child, son of John Perkins, Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	4
January	9.	Jethro, a Child son of John Perkins, Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	5
January	16.	Ruth a young woman Daughter of Luke Averell,	6
January	17.	Timothy, a child son of John Perkins Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	7
January	24.	Joseph Hodgskins a youth	8
January	24.	Mary, Daughter of Cap <sup>t</sup> Tobijah Perkins,	9
February	4.	Elijah, son of Luke Averell,	10
February	22.	Lieu <sup>t</sup> Dormans youngest Child an infant,	11
March	6.	Benjamin Bixby's youngest Child an infant,	12
May	25.	Lydia wife of Mical Coffeen,	13
May	31.	John, son of Richerd Gould, an infant,	14
June	24.	Mary wife of Israel Herrick,	15
July	12.	Sam <sup>l</sup> Smith,	16
August	9.	Lydia a child Daughter of Eleazer Lake Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	17



August	14.	Samuell a child son of George Dwinell,	18
September	25.	Joseph a child y <sup>e</sup> son of Israel Herrick,	19
September	30.	Elizabeth wife of Joseph Herrick,	20
October	3.	Esther Perkins who died in an instant by falling into a well,	21
October	22.	Huldah an infant Daughter of Eleazer Gould,	22
October	30.	Nathan <sup>ll</sup> Hood,	23
December	19.	Jesse Dorman,	24

Deaths in y<sup>e</sup> year 1749.

January	18.	Daniel Clark,	1
Feb <sup>ry</sup>	1.	Huldah, an infant, Daughter of Nathan <sup>ll</sup> Hood,	2
Feb <sup>ry</sup>	16.	Nathan <sup>ll</sup> Capen,	3
February	24.	John Hoods son an infant,	4
March	2.	Jemima wife of John Perkins Jun <sup>r</sup>	5
April	9.	George Dwinells Child, an infant,	6
April	24.	Elizabeth, wife of Solomon Gould,	7
June	25.	Jonathan Perkins killed by falling from a chimney,	8
June	29.	Anna, Daughter of Cap <sup>t</sup> Joseph Gould,	9
July	24.	Deacon Jacob Peabody,	10
August	11.	Abigail wife of Nathan <sup>ll</sup> Boardman,	11
Sep <sup>tm</sup>	2.	Susanna Averill,	12
Septem <sup>br</sup>	6.	Elizabeth a Child Daughter of Cornelius Balch,	13
Sept <sup>br</sup>	11.	Joseph Herrick,	14
Sept <sup>br</sup>	21.	Jacob Dwinells youngest Child, an infant,	15

September 23.	Mary a child, y <sup>e</sup> Daughter of Joseph Hovey and	16
	Cornelius an infant son of Cornelius Balch,	17
Nov <sup>br</sup> 5.	Richard Marshalls child &	18
	Benj <sup>m</sup> Woodlury's wife,	19
November 27.	Archelaus a child, son of David Towne,	20
December 6.	Cesar a Negro Serv <sup>t</sup> man belonging to Aaron Estey,	21
Decemb <sup>r</sup> 20.	Cornelius Balch,	22
December 24.	Archelaus a youth y <sup>e</sup> son of Sam <sup>l</sup> Perkins	23

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Deaths in y<sup>e</sup> year 1750.

January 25.	widow Martha Balchs son Joseph	1
——— 28.	Israel Clarks Daughter Sarah,	2
——— 30 <sup>th</sup> .	W <sup>m</sup> Towne in his 92d year,	3
March 4.	Nathan <sup>l</sup> Hoods son, an infant,	4
March 22.	widow Deborah Dorman,	5
June 15.	Robert Perkins,	6
June 22.	John Perkins,	7
June 29.	Daniel Reddington,	8
July 14.	George Dwinell,	9
September 5.	Sam <sup>l</sup> Tutoo free indian,	10
September 6.	Lydia, Second wife of Tho <sup>s</sup> Perkins,	11
September 27.	Cap <sup>t</sup> John Wildes,	12
Nov <sup>m</sup> 22.	George, an infant son of y <sup>e</sup> widow Hannah Dwinell,	13

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Deaths in y<sup>e</sup> year 1751.

April 3.	Nathaniel Averell,	1
May 31.	John Hovey,	2

July	15.	David an infant son of Cap <sup>t</sup> Thomas Baker,	3
Sept <sup>m</sup>	7.	Aaron Hubbard,	4
Nov <sup>m</sup>	5.	widow Margaret Towne,	5
Nov <sup>m</sup>	17.	Nath <sup>l</sup> Hoods son, an infant,	6
December	2.	Elisha Perkins,	7
December	8.	Benj <sup>m</sup> Woodburys Daughter, an infant,	8
December	18.	Timothy Perkins,	9
December	31.	Joseph Peabodys wife,	10

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Deaths in y<sup>e</sup> year 1752.

January	5.	Nathan <sup>l</sup> Porters wife Eleanor,	1
January	13.	Joseph Cummings youngest son, an infant,	2
February	24.	Timothy Perkins,	3
March	12.	Ebenezer son to John & Elizabeth Emerson, an infant,	4
April	5.	Elisha an infant son of y <sup>e</sup> widow Lucy Perkins,	5
May	17.	widow Elizabeth Perkins,	6
June	29.	Thomas Gould in his Eighty Six year	7
July	5.	Joseph Edwards,	8
July	9.	Samson a Negro serv <sup>t</sup> Boy belonging to Dea <sup>cn</sup> Bixby,	9
Nov <sup>m</sup>	8 <sup>th</sup> .	Charity y <sup>e</sup> wife of Dr Dwinell,	10
December	7 <sup>th</sup> .	Jacob Robinson Jun <sup>r</sup> who was drowned,	11

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1753.

March	6.	Sam <sup>l</sup> a youth son of Israel Clarke,	1
March	7.	Bethsheba a young person, Daughter of Israel Clark & the same day who dyed,	2



		Huldah an Infant Daughter of John Bradstreet,	3
March	13.	widow Rebekah Smith,	4
—	17.	Jacob Dwinells child an Infant,	5
March	27.	Elizabeth, wife of Eliezer Gould,	6
April	4.	Cap <sup>t</sup> Joseph Gould,	7
April	5.	John Goulds youngest Child, an In- fant,	8
April	11.	Priscilla Gould, Relict of Cap <sup>t</sup> Jo- seph Gould,	9
April	15.	John Hoods youngest child, an in- fant,	10
April	17.	Lieu <sup>t</sup> Joseph Dorman,	11
April	20.	Lydia Dorman,	12
April	27.	John Pricherd,	13
May	4.	Mary Lowden's Child, an infant,	14
May	8.	Priscilla Peabody,	15
May	15.	Ebenezer, son of Jacob Robinson,	16
May	22.	Eliz <sup>beth</sup> Daughter of Sam <sup>l</sup> Towne Jun <sup>r</sup>	17
July	2.	widow Susanna Wilkins,	18
July	25.	Jacob Gould son to Jacob Gould and Elisabeth his Wife Departed this Life.	19
August	7.	Cornelius Waldo an Infant, son of John & Elizabeth Emerson,	20
		Jacob Robinson Jun <sup>r</sup> a young man drowned at y <sup>e</sup> Eastward,	21

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1754.

January	20 <sup>th</sup> .	widow Cree,	1
January	30 <sup>th</sup> .	Richard Gould son to Jacob and Elizabeth Gould Departed this life.	2
February	4 <sup>th</sup> .	John Emerson Jun <sup>r</sup> who died at Haverhill, in y <sup>e</sup> 23 <sup>d</sup> year of his	

		age, son of John & Elizabeth Emerson,	3
May	9 <sup>th</sup> .	Asa Cree, a youth,	4
June	9 <sup>th</sup> .	Joshua Bixby, an aged man,	5
Nov <sup>m</sup>	20.	Uzziel Rea,	6

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## 1755.

January	31.	an Infant ——— of Israel Davis,	1
June	7.	Joseph Peabody,	2
June	8.	Nathan <sup>l</sup> Hood,	3
September	12.	widow Ruth Dorman,	4
October	23.	Elizabeth wife of John Hood,	5
October	28.	widow Prudence Boardman,	6
		Mical Dwinell 3 <sup>d</sup> Jonathan Reddington, Jacob Dorman, Jun <sup>r</sup> & Jeremiah Gallop who died in y <sup>e</sup> war	10

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## 1756.

January	11.	Eli, an Infant son of David Pricherd,	1
February	22.	widow Amee Towne [widow of Joseph Towne, aged 87 years 10 months],	2
March	2 <sup>d</sup> .	Tho <sup>s</sup> Edwards.	3
April	3 <sup>d</sup> .	Mercy, wife of Israel Clarke,	4
April	12.	Hepzibah wife of Joseph Andrew,	5
April	15 <sup>th</sup> .	John Willard,	6
April	22 <sup>d</sup> .	Joseph Andrew,	7
April	25 <sup>th</sup> .	John Clarke,	8
July	8 <sup>th</sup> .	Susanna a child the Daughter of Nathan Hood,	9
October	12 <sup>th</sup> .	Enos Towne,	10
October	20 <sup>th</sup> .	Dinah, wife of Tho <sup>s</sup> Perkins 3 <sup>d</sup> ,	11

November 13.	Dorothy a Child, Daughter of y <sup>e</sup> widow Dorothy Pricherd,	12
	Sam <sup>l</sup> Mastin, Sam <sup>l</sup> Tapley & David Pricherd who died in y <sup>e</sup> war,	15

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 1757

January 4 <sup>th</sup> .	Deborah a child Daughter of Matthew Peabody,	1
January 5 <sup>th</sup> .	Margaret wife of Sam <sup>l</sup> Perkins,	2
January 12 <sup>th</sup> .	Molly a child Daughter of Nathan <sup>l</sup> Low	3
February 24 <sup>th</sup> .	Mary a child, Daughter of y <sup>e</sup> widow Mary Clark Jun <sup>r</sup>	4
May 28 <sup>th</sup> .	Joseph Towne,	5
June 15 <sup>th</sup> .	Ruth a child Daughter of Sam <sup>l</sup> Phippen,	6
July 14 <sup>th</sup> .	Jacob Willdes Departed this Life at fort Edward.	7
July 31 <sup>st</sup> .	Hannah a child, Daughter of Tho <sup>s</sup> Symonds,	8
September 10 <sup>th</sup> .	Caleb an Infant son of Archelaus Rea,	9
	in y <sup>e</sup> war y <sup>t</sup> died also in y <sup>e</sup> year 1757. Joseph Edwards, Tho <sup>s</sup> Perkins Jun <sup>r</sup> & Sam <sup>l</sup> Marstin w <sup>c</sup> makes y <sup>e</sup> N <sup>o</sup> amount to	12

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 1758.

March 7 <sup>th</sup> .	Nathan <sup>l</sup> Boardman an aged man,	1
March 8 <sup>th</sup> .	Nathan <sup>l</sup> Porter an aged man,	2
April 4 <sup>th</sup> .	Hannah an Infant Daughter of Joseph Cumings Jun <sup>r</sup> of Ipswich but died in Topsfield,	3



April	22.	Jedidiah an Infant son of Eliezer Gould,	4
May	17.	Widow Mary Wildes an aged woman,	5
June	22.	Lieu <sup>t</sup> Nathan <sup>l</sup> Porter,	6
August	23.	Humphery Clark son to y <sup>e</sup> wid <sup>o</sup> Mary Clark Departed this Life in the Public Serues.	7
September	4.	Enos an Infant son of Benj <sup>m</sup> Bixby,	8
October	11.	W <sup>m</sup> Jewetts child an Infant,	9
November	7.	Abigail Bixby an aged woman,	10
November	13.	Micall a child son of Bartholomew Dwinell,	11
November	18.	Jacob Perkins an aged man,	12
		Those y <sup>t</sup> died in y <sup>e</sup> war from Home y <sup>s</sup> year were Archelaus Dwinell, Jabez Towne, Jun <sup>r</sup> , Dudley Perkins, and Arthur Browne which makes y <sup>e</sup> N <sup>o</sup> amount to	16

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 1759.

January	21.	Deacon Ivory Hovey,	1
April	1.	Tho <sup>s</sup> an infant son of David Balch Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	2
April	14.	Asa Bradstreet, a young man,	3
May	4 <sup>th</sup> .	Aaron Hovey, about middle age,	4
May	5 <sup>th</sup> .	Mehetabel an Infant, y <sup>e</sup> Daughter of John Peabody,	5
May	21.	Sarah a child, Daughter of John & Elizabeth Emerson,	6
May	29.	Jedidiah an infant son of James Burch,	7
May	31.	Robert, an Infant son of Robert Perkins,	8

June	1.	Abigail, an Infant Daughter of Isaac Estey,	9
June	5.	Abigail an Infant Daughter of Jacob Dwinell,	10
June	11.	Jemima a child Daughter of Tho <sup>s</sup> Perkins,	11
June	16.	Dorcas an Infant Daughter of Tho <sup>s</sup> Gould Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	12
June	26.	Elizabeth, an Infant Daughter of Amos Perkins,	13
June	27.	Lydia a child Daughter of y <sup>e</sup> widow Lydia Towne,	14
July	7.	Rebeckah an Infant Daughter of Tho <sup>s</sup> Perkins,	15
July	29.	Rebeckah a child, Daughter of Enoch Perkins,	16
October	20.	Elizabeth Dwinell, aged woman	17
Novemb <sup>r</sup>	19.	Abigail Gallop,	18
		Two blacks,	{ 19
			{ 20

## Anno Domini, 1760.

January	14.	Elijah Bradstreet,	1
February	12.	widow Abigail Pool, in her 97 <sup>th</sup> year,	2
March	5.	Archelaus Kenneys wife,	3
March	6.	Archelaus Kenneys child, an infant,	4
May	5.	John Batchellers wife,	5
August	18.	a serv <sup>t</sup> child belonging to Hugh Lynde,	6
September	4.	Joseph Cummins (?) a youth son of y <sup>e</sup> widow Mary Clark, Jun <sup>r</sup>	7
		also three infants, born at a Birth	{ 8
		children of Tho <sup>s</sup> Perkins, Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	{ 9
			{ 10

September	28.	widow Hannah Towne,	11
October	27.	Experience Towne,	12
October	28.	John Wildes,	13
Nov <sup>br</sup>	6.	Capt Benj <sup>m</sup> Townes wife Mary,	14
Nov <sup>br</sup>	16.	Zacheus Robinson, a youth,	15
Nov <sup>br</sup>	20.	Sarah wife of Joshua Towne Ju <sup>r</sup> ,	16
Nov <sup>br</sup>	27.	Moses Hovey, a youth who died w <sup>th</sup> y <sup>e</sup> Small Pox,	17
Decem <sup>br</sup>	7.	John Chapman who also died of y <sup>e</sup> Small Pox,	18
		Those who died from Home in y <sup>e</sup> Army.	
		Joseph Smith,	19
		James Burch,	20
		Nathan <sup>l</sup> Boardman,	21
		Israel Dwinell,	22
		One Black,	23

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Anno Domini, 1761.

May	24.	Susanna, a young woman, Daughter of Tho <sup>s</sup> Perkins,	1
June	18.	Sarah a child, Daughter of Joseph Gould,	2
June	22.	Mary, Daughter of Mical Holdgate	3
June	24.	Widow Mary Symonds an aged woman,	4
September	28.	Mary, a child Daughter of Stephen Symonds,	5
September	29.	Betty a young Person Daughter of Elijah Porter,	6
Octo <sup>br</sup>	12.	Isaac Cumings an aged man,	7
Nov <sup>br</sup>	1.	Sarah Towne an aged woman,	8
Nov <sup>br</sup>	19.	Widow Hannah Herrick,	9



December 23 <sup>d</sup> .	Dorothy Clark Daughter to the Wife of Capt. Benj <sup>a</sup> Towne De- parted this life.	10
Decem <sup>br</sup> 24.	Mical Dwinell, Etatis 91,	11

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## Anno Domini, 1762.

January 11.	Joshua Towne an aged man,	1
May 16.	Elizabeth wife of Elisha Towne,	2
July 21.	Othniel Thomas child an infant,	3
December 1.	Sam <sup>l</sup> Bradstreet,	4
December 15.	Ensign Solomon Gould,	5
December 30.	Anna an infant Daughter of Tho <sup>s</sup> Gould Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	6
	One Black,	7

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## Anno Domini, 1763.

February 21.	widow Sarah Kittery an aged woman,	1
March 15.	Mary Cree a young woman,	2
March 25.	John Davis an aged man,	3
May 8.	widow Mary Gould an aged woman,	4
September 2.	Moses a young man, son of Simon Gould,	5
October 31.	Enoch a child, son of Enoch Perkins,	6

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## Anno Domini, 1764.

January 22.	Israel an Infant son of Cap <sup>t</sup> Tho <sup>s</sup> Cummings,	1
February 7.	Mary wife of Philip Neeland Jun <sup>r</sup> middle aged woman,	2
February 16.	widow Dorothy Riggs an aged woman,	3

February	24.	Sam <sup>l</sup> Perkins an elderly man,	4
March	22.	William a young Person son of John Balch,	5
April	9.	Ruth a child, Daughter of y <sup>e</sup> widow Rebekah Gould,	6
April	15.	Lucy wife of Mical Dwinell an aged woman,	7
May	9.	Abigail a child, Daughter of y <sup>e</sup> widow Abigail Potter,	8
July	3.	Elizabeth wife of Sam <sup>l</sup> Towne,	9
August	17.	Hannah wife of John Peabody, who died about middle age,	10
September	24.	Dan Clarke Jun <sup>r</sup> a young man who died suddenly,	11
November	12.	Elijah Clarke a young married man,	12
November	19.	Amos son of John Le-Favour,	13
November	20.	Hannah Daughter of Solomon Dodge,	14
November	25.	Dan Clarke an elderly man,	15

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Anno Domini, 1765.

February	21.	Richerd Towne an aged man,	1
March	6.	Elijah son of Abraham Hobbs,	2
March	22.	Israel, son of Tho <sup>s</sup> Perkins Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	3
April	2.	Cornitt David Cumming an aged man,	4
May	4.	widow Abigail Hood an Elderly woman,	5
May	27.	Stephen Cummings a young man who died Comming home from sea,	6
June	17.	Nathan <sup>l</sup> Towne an elderly man,	7
August	7.	widow Abigail Potter,	8
September	3.	Cap <sup>t</sup> Thomas Cummings,	9

September 30.	widow Pheebe Wildes an aged woman,	10
October 30.	Sarah a child, Daughter of John Le-Favour,	11
December 26.	an infant child, son of Asa Smith,	12
December 31.	Mary wife of Asa Smith, One Black,	13 14

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## Anno Domini, 1766.

March 6.	an infant, son of Enoch Perkins	1
April 1.	Solomon an Infant, son of Dan <sup>l</sup> Averell,	2
August 29.	Joseph Hovey Jun <sup>r</sup> a student of y <sup>e</sup> College,	3
September 13.	Widow Susanna Cummings in y <sup>e</sup> 96 <sup>th</sup> year of her age,	4
September 30.	Sarah Hovey a young woman Daughter of y <sup>e</sup> widow Sarah Hovey,	5
October 6.	An Infant, child of Davis Howlett,	6
November 17.	Mercy wife of Jacob Dorman an aged woman,	7
December 11.	Deacon Dan <sup>l</sup> Gould an aged man,	8

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## Anno Domini 1767.

January 4.	Elizabeth a child, Daughter of John May,	1
February 8.	Mary, Wife of Deacon Bixby, an aged woman,	2
April 3.	Ephraim Wildes an aged Man,	3
May 6.	Dorothy, wife of Nathan <sup>l</sup> Averill Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	4



June	13.	Sarah, wife of Jeremiah Towne Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	5
September	15.	Ruth an Infant, Daughter of Dan <sup>l</sup> Hood,	6
September	16.	Joseph a youth, son of Ensign Joseph Gould,	7
November	18.	Hannah Willard, an aged woman,	8

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## Anno Domini, 1768.

April	16.	Dudley Smiths child, an Infant,	1
April	19.	Mary, wife of Nehemiah Herrick,	2
May	27.	Lydia, an Infant, Daughter of Abraham Hobbs Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	3
July	12.	Eunice, Daughter of Cap <sup>t</sup> Boardman,	4
November	24.	Josiah, an infant, son of Tho <sup>s</sup> Moor, One Black,	5 6

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## Anno Domini, 1769.

March	12.	Lydia Pricherd, a young woman,	1
April	15.	Richerd Cree, a middle aged man, who was drowned,	2
April	24.	Abigail, a young Woman y <sup>e</sup> Daugh- ter of John & Eliz <sup>bth</sup> Emerson,	3
May	22.	Sarah, wife of Palatiah Cummings, a middle aged woman,	4
September	25.	M <sup>r</sup> David Balch, an aged man,	5
December	11.	M <sup>r</sup> Jacob Dorman, an aged man,	6

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## Anno Domini, 1770.

January	23.	Abigail an infant, Daughter of Pela- tiah Cummings, died in Wenham,	1
January	28.	Jacob Foster, a young man,	2

March	27.	Widow Jemima Bointon an aged Woman, died very suddenly,	3
April	27.	Widow Lydia Stanley an aged Woman died very suddenly,	4
June	14.	Richerd, son of David Balch,	5
September	19.	Mical Dwinell an aged man who died suddenly,	6

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## Anno Domini, 1771.

January	28.	John Boardman Jun <sup>r</sup> a young man	1
February	2.	Lieu <sup>t</sup> Thomas Gould & John Batceler, both aged men,	2
March	7.	Philip Neeland, an aged man,	3
March	9.	Joseph Emerson, a youth,	4
April	19.	Abraham Hobbs Jun <sup>r</sup> his youngest child,	5
April	25.	Hannah, an Infant Daughter of Joseph Perkins,	6
April	29.	Eliezer Lake, an aged man,	7
May	15.	an Infant, Daughter of Benj <sup>m</sup> Fisk	8
May	18.	Sam <sup>l</sup> Towne, an aged man, who was drowned,	9
		Also y <sup>e</sup> same Day died Priscilla a Daughter of Isaac Hobbs,	10
August	22.	y <sup>e</sup> widow Martha Perkins, an aged Woman,	11
October	5.	Widow Abigail Cummings an aged Woman,	12
Novemb <sup>r</sup>	10.	an Infant, son of Stephen Adams,	13
Decemb <sup>r</sup>	24.	an Infant, son of John Dwinell,	14

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## Anno Domini, 1772.

January	31.	Widow Elizabeth Reddington an aged Woman,	1
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February	11.	Cap <sup>t</sup> Benjamin Towne an aged man,	2
February	13.	Mercy Gould, a young Woman, Daughter of y <sup>e</sup> Widow Mary Gould	3
March	19.	Widow Mary Neeland, an aged Woman,	4
March	23.	Nathan Hood Jun <sup>r</sup> , near middle age,	5
May	1.	Benj <sup>m</sup> Fisk, a young married man,	6
May	6.	A Negro child,	7
May	13.	Widow Mary Hubbard, an aged Woman who died very suddenly	8
June	23.	An Infant, son of David Towne Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	9
July	13.	An Infant, son of John Hood,	10
November	26.	widow Elizabeth Perkins, an aged woman,	11
December	25.	Ruth Dodge an elderly Woman,	12

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## Anno Domini, 1773.

March	3.	An Infant, son of Elizabeth Peabody,	1
March	22.	Sarah, a young married Woman, wife of W <sup>m</sup> Fessenden, A.M. & grammar School-Master of y <sup>e</sup> Town,	2
August	30.	Anna Towne, a young woman,	3
Septemb <sup>r</sup>	26.	Oliver Towne, a young married man,	4
November	3.	Zilpah, a Negro Woman,	5
December	9.	the Widow Abigail Dorman an aged Woman,	6
December	26.	Katharin Perkins, an elderly woman who died suddenly,	7
December	28.	Cap <sup>t</sup> Tobijah Perkins an aged Man who died very suddenly,	8

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## Anno Domini, 1774.

January	19.	Aaron, an infant, son of Stephen Perkins Jun <sup>r</sup> ,	1
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January	29.	Mehetabel, an infant, Daughter of Jn <sup>o</sup> Perkins 3 <sup>d</sup> &, 2
		Enoch Perkins a middle aged man, who died very suddenly, 3
February	26.	Elizabeth, an aged Woman, Relict of Cap <sup>t</sup> Tobijah Perkins, 4
March	23.	Henry, a child, son of Henry Brad- street, 5
April	14.	Widow Mary Dwinell, who died suddenly a very aged Woman, up- wards of 90 years, 6
May	15.	Rebekah Perkins, a middle aged Woman, 7
July	5.	Lieu <sup>t</sup> John Lampson who Died very Suddenly, 8
July	11 <sup>th</sup> .	The Rev <sup>nd</sup> Mr. John Emerson De- parted this Life Aged 67 years, five months, and four days. He was Ordained November 27 <sup>th</sup> 1728. 9
August	30.	Becca a Child of John Gould Juner, 10
Sept <sup>r</sup>	28.	Thomas Gould his Macy, 11
November	15.	Hephzibah Galop wife of Wi <sup>ll</sup> Galop, 12
November	20.	Elezibath Galop a young woman, 13
December	23.	Susannah Bradstrett wif of Simon Bradstrett, 14
Decemb <sup>r</sup>	31.	John Balch, 15

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Anno Domini, 1775.

January	9.	An Infant Child of Stephan Adams, 1
April	14.	An Infant Child of Sam <sup>l</sup> Smith, 2
—		the widow Mary Rea an ageed woman, 3
—		the widow Mary Lake an ageed woman, 4
—		Benj <sup>n</sup> Kimball a student of Harverd Colledge son of Jacob Kimball Died the 19 <sup>th</sup> Aug <sup>t</sup> 1775, 5

September 7. A Child of Zebelon Perkins,	6
Samuel Kimball son of Jacob Kimball Died Sep <sup>r</sup>	
10 <sup>th</sup> 1775,	7
Enos Towne son of Stephen Towne Jn <sup>r</sup> Departed	
this Life 9 <sup>th</sup> Sep <sup>r</sup> 1775,	8
Esther Hood Daughter of John Hood Departed	
this Life Sep <sup>r</sup> 1775,	9
Daniel Bixby Departed this Life 22 <sup>d</sup> Sep <sup>r</sup> 1775,	10
Elisabeth Gould wife of John Gould Jn <sup>r</sup> Departed	
this Life the 18 <sup>th</sup> Oct <sup>r</sup> 1775,	11
A Child of Joseph Perkins,	12
Elijah Porter Esq <sup>r</sup> Departed this Life 17 <sup>th</sup> Dec <sup>r</sup>	
1775,	13
Daniel Hood son of Daniel Hood Departed this	
Life Oct <sup>r</sup> 1775,	14

The Wid. Edwards an aged woman Departed this	
Life Jan <sup>y</sup> 18 <sup>th</sup> 1776,	1
Meheteble Broadstreet and Lucy Broadstreet Dafters	
of John Broadstreet Booth Departed this Life Jan-	2
uary 29,	3
Nehemiah Towne a Child of Nehemiah Towne De-	
parted this Life february 10, 1776,	4
hildah Hood Daughter of John Hood Departed	
this Life february y <sup>e</sup> 18, 1776,	5
William Balch son of David Balch Departed this	
Life february y <sup>e</sup> 26, 1776,	6
Daniel Clark son of Daniel Clark Departed this Life	
february 29, 1776,	7
William Perkins an aged man who Died Suddenly	
february 29, 1776,	8
the Widdow Kittle an Aged woman Died March	
y <sup>e</sup> 7 [she was the widow of Samuel Kettell of	
Charlestown]	9

the widdow Anna Hovey an Aged Woman who died Sudenly March y <sup>e</sup> 10,	10
Elijah Clark a Child of Daniel Clark who died March y <sup>e</sup> 14,	11
Lucy Hood Daughter of Daniel Hood died March 31,	12
Luke Auril Died April 16,	13
Tamma Wilds Dafter of Amos Wilds died April y <sup>e</sup> 17,	14
Priscilla Perkins Daughter of Stephen Perkins Juner Died April y <sup>e</sup> 19, 1776,	15
Ebenezer Baker a Child of John Baker Junr Died April 24,	16
A Child of Mr Brindlecom Belonging to Marblehead died May 6,	17
Judah Marah an aged woman of Marblehead died May y <sup>e</sup> 24,	18
Sarah Bixby wife of Deacon George Bixby who Died Jne the 30 1776,	19
Prudence Ireland an aged woman who Died July y <sup>e</sup> 19,	20
Ceasar a Negro seruent of Thomas Perkins Junr who Died July 24,	21
an Infant Child of Jacob Kimball August y <sup>e</sup> 29,	22
Martha Perkins wife of Thomas Perkins Junr who Died September 4 <sup>th</sup> ,	23
Elizabeth Bixby who Died September 18,	24
Sarah a Child of Robert Balch who Died October y <sup>e</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> ,	25
Nathaniel Dorman a middle aged man who died October the 13 <sup>th</sup> ,	26
Pellityah Commings a younge man who died october 27,	27
Richard a Child of Cornelious Balch who Died Nouember 1 <sup>st</sup> ,	28



an infant Child Abraham hobbs juner Nouember 13, 29  
 Two infent Children being Twins of John Peabody  
 Departed this Life December 27<sup>th</sup> 1776.

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An Infant male Child of Ephraim Towne Jun<sup>r</sup>  
 Departed this Life January the 8<sup>th</sup> 1777, 1

An Infent Child, son of Mary Bixby Departed this  
 Life April 13<sup>th</sup> 1777, 2

Lydia Daughter of Nath<sup>l</sup> Fisk, May 16, 3

William Perkins a young man Departed this Life  
 on y<sup>e</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> day of June 1777. 4

Samuel Bradstreet Departed this Life July 6<sup>th</sup> 1777, 5

Ruth Bradstreet Relict Widdow of Samuel Brad-  
 street, Departed this Life on the 25<sup>th</sup> day of July,  
 1777, 6

Mary Perkins Daughter of Stephen Perkins De-  
 parted this Life the 13<sup>th</sup> of August 1777 in the 27<sup>th</sup>  
 year of her age. 7

September 7<sup>th</sup>. Jacob Batcheller son of John and  
 Lydia Batcheller Departed this  
 Life and the, 8

14<sup>th</sup> of September Ann Batcheller Daughter of John  
 & Lydia Batcheller departed this Life, 9

Cap<sup>t</sup> Thomas Baker Departed this Life on the 16<sup>th</sup>  
 day of September 1777. 10

September 21<sup>st</sup>. Zebulun Perkins son of Zebulun and  
 Mary Perkins Departed this Life  
 and, 11

September 23<sup>d</sup>. Unice the daughter of Zebulun &  
 Mary Perkins Departed this Life, 12

August 11<sup>th</sup>. Esther the daughter of John and  
 Ester Dwinell Departed this Life.  
 She died with the Small Pox.  
 ought to have been entred before, 13

September 23 <sup>d</sup> .	Huldah Bradstreet Daughter of John & Elisabeth Bradstreet Departed this Life.	14
October the 1 <sup>st</sup> .	Jacob Perkins Departed this Life,	15
October 7 <sup>th</sup> .	Esther the wife of Phillip Towne Departed this Life.	16
	Mary Perkins the Daughter of Stephen Perkins and Unice his wife Departed this Life 13 <sup>th</sup> of August which should have been entered before.	17
	Aholiab Gould son to Eliezer Gould Departed this Life on the 8 day of October 1777 being killed by a Cannon ball at the taking Bergoyns armey in the Ninteenth year of his age,	18
October 16 <sup>th</sup> .	John Dwinell son of John and Es- ther Dwinell Departed this life	19
	and in the 18 <sup>th</sup> day their daugh- ter Mehetabell Departed this life	20
October 19 <sup>th</sup> .	Marcy the wife of David Perkins Departed this life	21
October 18 <sup>th</sup> .	Lucy the Daughter of John and Lucy Peabody Departed this life	22
October 20 <sup>th</sup> .	Departed this Life Mr Matthew Peabody, and Sarah his wife and Ebenezer Peabody son of John and Lucy Peabody all three in one day and under one roof, and was all three bury <sup>d</sup> at one time, Mr Peabody and his wife was both laid in one grave.	25
November 25 <sup>th</sup> , 1777.	Departed this Life Joseph son of Capt Nehemiah Herrick.	26

December	15 <sup>th</sup> .	Nehemiah son of Cap <sup>t</sup> Nehemiah Herrick.	27
<hr/>			
January	7 <sup>th</sup> , 1778.	Departed this life An Infent Child Daughter of Phillip Mackinze.	1
February	1 <sup>st</sup> .	Sarah Daughter of Paletiah Cummings.	2
April	15 <sup>th</sup> .	the widow Hannah Towne.	3
July	23 <sup>rd</sup> .	Sarah Daughter of David Towne Jun <sup>r</sup> .	4
June	28 <sup>th</sup> , 1778.	Departed this Life Deacon John Gould, he represented the town at the General Court at the same time he died with the small pox at Watertown	5
August	20 <sup>th</sup> .	David Towne Departed this life.	6
September	21 <sup>st</sup> .	Joshua Cree departed this Life.	7
October	2 <sup>nd</sup> .	Esther Lynd departed this Life the same day Oct <sup>r</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> Benjamin son of Samuel Smith Jun <sup>r</sup> Departed this life.	8 9
October	y <sup>e</sup> 12 <sup>th</sup> .	Emerson a Child The Son of Thomas Hodgdon Departed this Life.	10
October	17 <sup>th</sup> .	Sarah a Child of Daniel Porter departed this Life.	11
October	18 <sup>th</sup> .	Dinna a Negro woman servant of Mrs. Porter departed this life.	12
October	19 <sup>th</sup> .	William son of Oliver Perkins Departed this Life.	13
October	23 <sup>d</sup> 1778.	James a Son of Daniel Porter Departed this Life.	14



November 23, 1778. Cap<sup>t</sup> John Dodge of Brookfield  
 being in town on a visit at  
 the House of Mr Solomon  
 Dodges, he went to bed in  
 the evening in a Comfortable  
 State of health for a man of  
 his age, but was found dead  
 in his bed in the morning, he  
 was about 85 years of age. 15

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February 5<sup>th</sup> 1779. the Widow Elisabeth Lampson  
 Departed this Life.

May 24<sup>th</sup>, 1779. Amos Wildes departed this life,  
 he died with the small pox.

June 7<sup>th</sup> 1779. Lois Wildes daughter of Amos  
 and Hannah Wildes departed  
 this Life. She also died with  
 the Small pox.

September 11<sup>th</sup>. An Infant Child of Zacheus Gould,  
 Jun<sup>r</sup>.

Decem<sup>r</sup>. 20 1779. Hannah Wildes relict widow of  
 Amos Wildes, departed this life  
 in a sudden & surprising man-  
 ner, by means of her own using.

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Feb<sup>y</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> 1780. John Perkins an aged man.

March 12. Widow Rebekah Peabody a very  
 aged woman.

April 7. Cap<sup>t</sup> John Boardman in something  
 of a sudden & unexpected man-  
 ner.

April 9<sup>th</sup>. Sarah Towne a very aged woman.

May 18. An infant child of Abraham Hobbs,  
 Jun<sup>r</sup>.

June	28.	Dinah, a negro woman servant of Philip Kneeland.
June	29.	The widow Sarah Baker, a woman in years.
July	10.	An infant child of Moses Conant.
Aug <sup>t</sup>	19.	Priscilla wife of Cap <sup>t</sup> Joseph Cummings. The same day a negro man belonging to John Balch.
Nov <sup>r</sup>	10.	A young child of Nathan Fisk.
Nov <sup>r</sup>	20.	An infant child of John Dwinell.
Decem <sup>r</sup>	19.	Mary Foster, an aged person, a member of Chh. But resident in y <sup>e</sup> parish of Linebrook.
<hr/>		
Jan <sup>y</sup>	7, 1781.	Deacon Stephen Foster about 71 years of age.
Jan.	15.	The widow Eliz <sup>h</sup> Perkins an aged woman.
Feb.	11.	Theophilus Fisk an aged man.
March	22.	The widow Elizabeth Bradstreet, a very aged person, & y <sup>e</sup> only surviving daughter of, y <sup>e</sup> Rev <sup>r</sup> M <sup>r</sup> Capen, the third ordained pastor of this Chh.
March	29.	Priscilla daughter of Jacob Averell.
July	1 <sup>st</sup> .	Philip Towne an aged person.
July	20.	A child of Nathanael Gould.
July	22.	Sarah wife of John Cummings.
Aug <sup>t</sup>	5.	David son of John Gould.
Aug <sup>t</sup>	17.	Cap <sup>t</sup> Nathanael Averell an aged person.
Aug <sup>t</sup>	20.	Hannah, wife of Stephen Perkins Jun <sup>r</sup> .

Aug <sup>t</sup>	26.	A child of John Gould, Jun <sup>r</sup> .
Aug <sup>t</sup>	29.	Elizabeth wife of Joseph Towne.
Sep <sup>r</sup>	24.	An infant child of Bishop Norton of Newburyport.
Nov <sup>r</sup>	15.	Thomas Wiles of a lethargy.
Nov <sup>r</sup>	18.	The widow Mary Perkins a very aged pr <sup>'</sup> son.
Decem.	18.	Susanna daughter of Samuel Smith Jun <sup>r</sup> ab <sup>t</sup> 18 years of age in a very sudden & unexpected manner.

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May 31 <sup>st</sup>	1782.	A child of Nathanael Smith.
May	31.	A child of Israel Clark.
June	10.	Eliza <sup>h</sup> wife of Nathan Hood, in a very sudden manner.
Oct <sup>r</sup>	28.	Theziah, daughter of Amos Perkins, a young person.
Nov <sup>r</sup>	22.	William Perkins, a single man, about 60 years of age.
Decem <sup>r</sup>	11.	The widow Mary Towne in a sudden manner.
Decem <sup>r</sup>	21.	A negro girl of Cap <sup>t</sup> Nehemiah Herrick.

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Jan <sup>y</sup> 31,	1783.	A child of Cap <sup>t</sup> Nehemiah Herrick.
Feb.	12.	An infant child of Enos Gallop.
April	21.	Aaron Estey in y <sup>e</sup> 85 year of his age.
April	26.	The widow Hannah Bachelor, in y <sup>e</sup> 80 <sup>th</sup> year of her age.
May	3.	Deacon George Bixby in the 92 year of his age.
July	11.	Nathan Wildes about 70 years of age, of a complication of disorders.



- Nov<sup>r</sup> 25. Doctor Richard Dexter, of a putrid fever. Aged 71.
- Decem<sup>r</sup> 23. Widow Hephzibah Wildes of a consumption.
- Decem<sup>r</sup> 28. Widow Abigail Fowler of a cancer. Aged 84.
- 
- Jan<sup>y</sup> 15, 1784. An infant child of John Gould.
- Jan<sup>y</sup> 23. Widow Jemima Fisk. Aged 69.
- Feb<sup>y</sup> 20. Miriam, wife of Nehemiah Herrick, of a consumption. Aged 37.
- March 15. A child of David Hobbs, still born.
- April 29. Widow Mary Gould, of a complica<sup>n</sup> of disorders. Aged 73.
- May 26. Lydia Symons, of a consumption. Aged 66.
- June 3<sup>d</sup>. Jeremiah Perley in a very sudden manner (aged 35) occasioned by a part of a frame for a barn giving way, at the time of raising. A considerable number were wounded at the same time, tho' but few received any material injury.
- Sep<sup>r</sup> 16. Jacob Dwinnell of a Dropsy. Aged 70.
- Oct<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>. Priscilla, wife of Nathaniel Herrick. Aged 32.
- Oct<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup>. Betty wife of David Balch Tertius, of a consumption. Æt. 22.
- Decem<sup>r</sup> 26. Sarah Averell, a single person.
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Feb<sup>y</sup> 25, 1785. Anna wife of John Baker of a cancer. Aged 66.

April 7. An infant child of Amos Hood.

May	21.	An infant child of David Perkins Jun <sup>r</sup> .
June	4.	Widow Hannah Averell of a consumption. Aged 75.
June	23.	A child of Samson, a negro man, a year old.
July	1.	A child of Roger Balch, 3 weeks old.
Sep <sup>r</sup>	7.	Jeremy Averill.
Oct.	1.	Molly, wife of Dan <sup>l</sup> Gould. Æt. 34.
Oct.	10.	Aaron, son of David Balch, Jun <sup>r</sup> .
Oct.	16.	Joseph Andrews.
Nov.	14.	Samuel Smith Esq <sup>r</sup> of an apoplexy, 72.
Decem <sup>r</sup>	4.	Molly, an infant, daughter of Daniel Gould.

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Feb <sup>y</sup> 21,	1786.	Sara Gould, a single person.
March	4.	Thomas Perkins.
March	27.	Abra <sup>m</sup> Hobbs of a Dropsy. Æt. 67.
July	8.	Abigail wife of Stephen Foster, Consumption, 46.
Sep <sup>r</sup>	25.	Widow Martha Clarke of a putrid fever. Æt. 84.

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Jan <sup>y</sup> 21,	1787.	An infant, daughter of David Balch, Jun <sup>r</sup> .
April	17.	David Balch of a palsy. Æt. 73.
May	21.	An infant, daughter of Aaron Kneeland.
June	25.	Elisha Willes, Complication of disorders. Æt. 67.
Decem <sup>r</sup>	15.	Rhoda, wife of David Hobbs.

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Jan <sup>y</sup> 25,	1788.	Simon Bradstreet. Æt. 84.
Jan <sup>r</sup>	31.	Joshua Towne, of an inflammatory fever. Æt. 65 years.

- March 1<sup>st</sup>. Polly, daughter of Elisha Perkins.  
Canker-rash. Æt. 2 years &  $\frac{1}{2}$ .
- March 26. Anna, wife of Israel Clarke.
- April 15. Jacob, an infant son of John Dwinell.
- April 17. John Perkins Jun<sup>r</sup> of a Scarlet Fev.  
31.
- Oct. 7. Hannah wife of Deacon Solomon  
Dodge.
- Oct. 19. Josiah Son of Josiah Lamson.
- December 20<sup>th</sup> 1788. Ester Gould, widow of Deacon  
John Gould. Æt. 71.
- 

Nov. 24<sup>th</sup> A.D. 1789. Israel Clark, aged 88.

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- March 19<sup>th</sup> A.D. 1790. Mary Perkins, Relict of Capt.  
John Perkins. Aged 76.
- March 23<sup>d</sup>. Rebecca Foster, Relict of Deacon Ste-  
phen Foster. Aged 75.
- April 1<sup>st</sup>. M<sup>rs</sup> Elizabeth Emerson, Widow of y<sup>e</sup>  
Rev. John Emerson. Aged 81.
- April 5<sup>th</sup>. Hannah Gould wife of Nathaniel Gould.  
Æt 34.
- May 7<sup>th</sup>. Daniel Esty Jr. Æt. 21.
- May 18<sup>th</sup>. Nathaniel Bragg. Æt. 88.
- May 22. M<sup>rs</sup> Averill Widow of Cap<sup>t</sup> Averill  
deceased. Æt. 84.
- July 21<sup>st</sup>. Israel Clark. Æt. 58.
- Oct<sup>r</sup> 5<sup>th</sup>. Doct<sup>r</sup> Joseph Bradstreet. Aged —.
- Oct<sup>r</sup> 23<sup>d</sup>. Cap<sup>t</sup> Stephen Perkins. Aged 64.
- Nov. 17<sup>th</sup>. Mehitable Kimball Daughter of M<sup>r</sup>  
Jacob Kimball. Aged 32 [Total 11].



Jan. 1<sup>st</sup> A.D. 1791. Sally Gould wife of John Gould 3<sup>rd</sup>  
aged —.

Jan.	10 <sup>th</sup> .	Thomas Symonds. Æt. 80.
March	30 <sup>th</sup> .	Mrs Cummins Wife of Joseph Cummins.
June	6 <sup>th</sup> .	Mrs Lucy Cleaveland wife of Nehemiah Cleaveland Esq <sup>r</sup> . Æt. 29.
June	14 <sup>th</sup> .	Jacob Averell. Æt. 88.
July	13 <sup>th</sup> .	Stephen Foster. Æt. —.
Sep <sup>t</sup>	9 <sup>th</sup> .	Anna Hobbs. Widow. Æt. 82.
Oct <sup>r</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup> .	Widow Porter. Æt. 81. [Total 8].

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Jan. 11<sup>th</sup> A.D. 1792. A child of Oliver Perkins.

Jan	20 <sup>th</sup> .	A child of Jacob Towne Jun <sup>r</sup> .
April	—.	Rebeca Gould wife of Zacheus Gould. Æt. 70.
May	4 <sup>th</sup> .	Nathan Hood. Æt. 87.
July	—.	Robert, a child of Robert Lake. Aged 3 years.
—		David, a child of John Gould. Aged 2 years.
July	22 <sup>d</sup> .	Mrs Anna Cummings, Widow of Rev <sup>d</sup> Joseph Cummings. Æt. 38.
Aug <sup>st</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup> .	Samson, a negro man. Æt. 60.
Sept.	29 <sup>th</sup> .	Priscilla Kimball Daughter of Jacob Kimball Æt. 27 <sup>th</sup> .
Oct <sup>r</sup>	6 <sup>th</sup> .	The Widow Hovey. Æt. 72.
Oct <sup>r</sup>	14 <sup>th</sup> .	A Child of Asehel Huntington.
December	6 <sup>th</sup> .	Mrs Cummings Wife of Cap <sup>t</sup> Thomas Cummings. Æt. —.
December	7 <sup>th</sup> .	Mrs Priscilla Kimball, wife of Mr. Ja- cob Kimball. Æt. —.

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January 2<sup>d</sup>, 1793. Mr Zaccheus Gould. Æt. 75.

April	—.	Anna Wallis, Æt. 73.
June	—.	Mr Butman. Æt. 16.
Aug <sup>t</sup>	—.	A child of John Perkins, Jr <sup>r</sup> . Drowned Æt. 6 years.
Sept.	—.	Mrs Gould wife of Simon Gould, quite aged.
Sept	10 <sup>th</sup> .	Mr Ephraim Towne Æt. 68.
Oct <sup>r</sup>	—.	Asa Bradstreet. Æt. 25. Killed by y <sup>e</sup> Wheels of a loaded Waggon which passed over his head.
—		A child of Dudley Wildes, infant.

January 22<sup>d</sup>, 1794. Betsy Perkins Daughter of Amos Perkins. Æt. 29.

Jan.	27 <sup>th</sup> .	Nathan Perkins. Æt. 64.
Feb.	—.	A child of John Perkins, Jr <sup>r</sup> .
March	1 <sup>st</sup> .	Widow Rebecca Balch. Æt. 80.
April	—.	Cap <sup>t</sup> Joseph Cummings. Æt. 101.
May	—.	John Cree. Æt. 72.
June	21 <sup>st</sup> .	Widow Dorman. Mrs Symonds.
December.		A child of Asa Perkins. 3 y <sup>rs</sup> old.

Feb. 18,	1795.	Mrs Lake. Æt. 65.
March	2 <sup>d</sup> .	Jemima Fisk. Æt. 46.
April	25 <sup>th</sup> .	Lydia Kimball. Æt. 22.
April	27 <sup>th</sup> .	Experience a child of Nehe <sup>h</sup> Cleaveland.
May	13 <sup>th</sup> .	The Widow Rust. Æt. 90.
June	2 <sup>d</sup> .	Benjamin Bixby, Jr. Aged 17 years.
—		Humphry, a son of Zaccheus Gould. Aged two & half years.
—		A child of Stephen Perley 2 <sup>d</sup> Æt. 5 years.

- June 22<sup>d</sup>. Oliver, a son of Simon Gould, Jr.  
Aged 5 years.
- July 12<sup>th</sup>. Joshua Conant. Æt. 15 y<sup>rs</sup>.
- July 15<sup>th</sup>. A child of Elijah Gould. Æt. 5 months.
- July 19<sup>th</sup>. A child of Elijah Gould. Æt. 24 y<sup>rs</sup>.
- Aug<sup>st</sup> 21<sup>st</sup>. Cornelius Balch. Æt. 45.
- Aug<sup>st</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> & Sept. 1<sup>st</sup>. Two children of Joseph Cree  
one aged three, & y<sup>e</sup> other five  
years. Both buried at once.
- Sept. 4<sup>th</sup> John Cree, a child of Joseph Cree.  
Æt, short of a year.
- Oct<sup>r</sup> 14<sup>th</sup>. A child of John Perkins, Jr.  
The above children & youth who have  
died since June 1<sup>st</sup> Died with y<sup>e</sup>  
Scarlatina Anginasa.
- Oct<sup>r</sup> 27<sup>th</sup>. Abraham Foster. Æt. 77. In usual  
health, fainted & Died in a moment.
- Oct<sup>r</sup> 29<sup>th</sup>. A son of the Widow Towne Aged ten  
years — of y<sup>e</sup> scarletina.
- Decembr<sup>r</sup> 17<sup>th</sup>. John Perkins of a lingering illness.  
Æt. 74.
- Decembr<sup>r</sup> 20<sup>th</sup>. Mr Rhodes a native of Marblehead,  
found Dead in y<sup>e</sup> in field. Æt. 52.

- 
- March 29<sup>th</sup>, 1796. Eliezer Lake. Æt. 67 years.
- 
- Samuel Cummings. Æt. 64 years.
- 
- A child of Thomas Tenney. Æt. 5  
years.
- April 5<sup>th</sup>. Betsey Gould. Æt. 22.
- April 7<sup>th</sup>. Phillip Kneeland. Æt. 82 years.
- April 11<sup>th</sup>. Nehemiah, son of Nehemiah Cleveland,  
a Child Æt. 3 years. Scarletina.
- May 8<sup>th</sup>. Hannah Moore. Æt. 20 years. Con-  
sumption.



July	—.	A child of Jonas Merriam Æt. 3 months.
August	11 <sup>th</sup> .	A child of Simon Gould Jr Æt. 7 months. Scarletina.
Sept.	9 <sup>th</sup> .	A child of Daniel Bordman Æt. 8 years. Scarletina.
Oct <sup>r</sup>	26 <sup>th</sup> .	Stephen Perkins. Æt. 50. Illiac Pas- sion.
Nov <sup>r</sup>	20 <sup>th</sup> .	David Kimball Æt. 24. Putrid fever.
Decemb <sup>r</sup>	11 <sup>th</sup> .	William Perkins Æt. 32. Consumption.

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June 14 <sup>th</sup>	1797.	John Rea, aged 67 years Dropsy.
June	28 <sup>th</sup> .	Priscilla Smith Widdow of Sam <sup>l</sup> Smith Esq <sup>r</sup> Deceased, Æt. 83. [The above is recorded May 27, 1797, on Town Records.]
Sept <sup>t</sup>	9 <sup>th</sup> .	M <sup>rs</sup> Averell Wife of Elijah Averell. Æt. 36 years.
Oct <sup>r</sup>	10 <sup>th</sup> .	John Lamson. Æt. 70 years.
—		Two infant, twin children of Moses Averell.
Nov <sup>r</sup>		M <sup>rs</sup> Cummings Wife of Jonathan Cum- mings. M <sup>rs</sup> Elisabeth wife of M <sup>r</sup> Jonathan Cummings departed this life october 20 <sup>th</sup> 1797 aged 52 years.

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February 21<sup>st</sup>, 1798. A child of Joseph Gould. Æt. one year.

Died at Topsfield on the 17<sup>th</sup> day of May 1798 at the dwelling house of Daniel Balch, Jacob Cale aged about 16 years a Native of Edenton in North Carolina.

July	25 <sup>th</sup> .	John Balch Æt. 59. very suddenly.
July	29 <sup>th</sup> .	Moses Averell. Æt. 29.
Sept <sup>r</sup>		John Le Favour. Æt. 81.
Oct <sup>r</sup>		M <sup>rs</sup> Plummer. Æt. 36.
Nov		M <sup>r</sup> Plummer.
Decemb <sup>r</sup>		Widdow Kezia Dannel. Æt. 80.

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January	24 <sup>th</sup> 1799.	A child of Sylvanus Willes. Æt. 3 y <sup>r</sup> .
January	28 <sup>th</sup> .	A child of Israel Rea. Æt. 2 years.
Feb.	16 <sup>th</sup> .	The wife of Elnathan Hubbard. Æt. 50 years.
Feb <sup>y</sup>	20 <sup>th</sup> .	Abigail Towne sister of David and Joseph Towne. Æt. 56.
March	17 <sup>th</sup> .	An Infant child of Joseph Gould, Jur.
May	22 <sup>d</sup> .	Widdow Priscilla Averell Æt. 94 years.
Sept <sup>r</sup>	22 <sup>d</sup> .	A child of Abraham Hobbs, Jr Æt. 3 months.
Oct <sup>r</sup>	27.	Ephraim Towne, Jur. Æt. 21 years.
Nov.	9 <sup>th</sup> .	Richard an infant child of John Hood, Jr.

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May 8,	1800.	Black child belonging to Nantz. Æt. 2 years.
May	12 <sup>th</sup> .	M <sup>rs</sup> Elisabeth Towne, wife of Jacob Towne. Æt. 68.
June	12 <sup>th</sup> .	A child of Thomas Perkins. Æt. 8.
June	24 <sup>th</sup> .	John Conant, suddenly. Æt. 32.
June	29 <sup>th</sup> .	Widdow Ruth Cree. Æt. 71.
July	21 <sup>st</sup> .	An infant child of Enos Lake } Twins.
Aug <sup>st</sup>	6 <sup>th</sup> .	An infant child of Enos Lake }
Aug <sup>st</sup>	9 <sup>th</sup> .	Widdow Sarah Towne, Relict of Ephraim Towne. Æt. 72.

July	27 <sup>th</sup> .	An infant child belonging to Abram Hobbs, Jr.
Aug <sup>st</sup>	22.	Nathaniel Foster. Æt. 37.
Sept <sup>r</sup>	20 <sup>th</sup> .	Isaac Averell, Jr A.M. Candidate for the ministry. Was under a call t <sup>m</sup> y <sup>c</sup> chh. in Brookfield south parish. The 1 <sup>st</sup> Day of Oct <sup>r</sup> was appointed for his ordination. Æt. 33.
Sept <sup>r</sup>	29.	Fanny Perley Daughter of Stephen Perley. Æt. 13.
October	12 <sup>th</sup> .	Catharine Wildes. Æt. 86.

## A LOST LETTER OF COL. TIMOTHY PICKERING.

*From the Records of the Essex Agricultural Society.*

SALEM, Oct<sup>r</sup>. 20, 1820.

SIR: Your letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> ult<sup>o</sup>, prepared by a unanimous vote of the Board of Trustees of the Massachusetts Society for promoting Agriculture, was communicated to the Essex Agricultural Society, at their Meeting on the 5<sup>th</sup> instant; when, after some discussion, the subject was referred to the Trustees of this Society, by a vote of the following tenor, *viz.*

At a meeting of the Essex Agricultural Society at Topsfield, on the 5<sup>th</sup> of October, 1820,—a vote of the Board of Trustees of the Massachusetts Society for promoting Agriculture, and a letter from their corresponding Secretary, written in pursuance of said vote, having been read;—Voted, That the Trustees of this Society be desired to correspond with the Board of Trustees of the



State Society, on the subject of their said vote, and to express what shall appear to them to be the opinion of the Agriculturalists of this County, and to coöperate with them in any measures which they shall deem proper, to prevent the passing of any tariff, which in their opinion will have a tendency further to distress the Agriculture of the United States.

In pursuance of this vote, the Trustees, at a special meeting for this purpose, have taken the subject into consideration, and now express to you their entire coincidence in the sentiments and with the general views of your Board, as exhibited in your letter above mentioned; and in doing this, they entertain the perfect belief, that they express the opinion of the great body of the Agriculturalists of this County.

Were any farmer asked, if it were better to have many customers, for the produce of his farm, than only one or a few, or to have his choice of many stores, where to purchase necessary goods or to be confined to one, or a few, no one can doubt what would be his answer. But, by excluding foreign manufactures, or lessening their importation by enormous duties, we curtail our markets by diminishing the number of our customers: for if we reject the productions of foreign nations, they will necessarily reject ours;—commerce consisting in the mutual exchange of products for products.

Much has been said about the patriotism of encouraging and using our own manufactures in preference to those imported from other countries; but the appeal is futile. This the manufacturers well know; and therefore they press for the coercion of a law. Put the case that any class of our manufacturers themselves, of cotton cloths for instance, need the manufactures of another class, of woollen for instance; and that imported woollens could be purchased at twenty, or ten, or five, or even one per cent, cheaper than those of our own fabrication; who will hesitate to say which will be the subjects of their purchase? But is there really any patriotism in the case? This virtue regards the general interest of the community. Hence, whatever will derogate from that general interest,

must be the reverse of patriotism ; it must be the result of sordid selfishness or at least of mistaken views. Now those employments of our means (capital, or stock and labour) which will most advance the general prosperity, must be most patriotic. The question then occurs — What are those employments? Now if the produce of our lands and customary labour would enable us to procure twice the quantity of foreign manufactures as of our own, it is presumed that no one will doubt which should be the subjects of our purchase. But on the same principle, the preference will be given to foreign manufactures, when they can be obtained for any less proportion of the products of our lands and labour than must be exchanged for our own manufactures. And if the usual employments of our citizens, voluntarily chosen, were not, on the whole, the more profitable employments, then an adequate portion of them would be relinquished, and others or some branches of manufactures, occupy their places.

But who are the best judges, when these changes of employments ought to take place? Which will soonest and most accurately discern what employments of the capital and labour of every man in the community, will be most profitable — a small assembly of politicians or the eagle eye of interest in the individuals composing the community?

These considerations lead to another view of the subject. When the People of the United States formed their present Constitution (for it was expressly the act of the People) did any man then imagine that he was giving to Congress the power to prescribe by a law, how he should employ his stock and his labour? to determine whether he should be an agriculturalist, a manufacturer or a mechanic? Would not a proposition to grant such a power have been rejected with indignation? But does not the projected tariff, brought before Congress at their last session, come to this? For if by the enormous duties intended to be imposed on foreign manufactures — for the sole benefit of the manufacturers, their importation would be greatly restricted or wholly cease, the

exports of the produce of our agricultural stock and labour must be proportionally restricted and reduced; and in like proportion, the Agriculturalists themselves must be reduced and driven from their fields, where they were more profitably and more healthfully employed, into the workshops of the great manufacturers.

Without any special legislative aid, many important manufactures had been introduced and profitably extended prior to the late war. The interruption of commerce by that measure, and its precursors, embargo and non-intercourse, led to a further extension of our manufactures; these were apparently so profitable to the undertakers that others (some of them without adequate capital and skill) rushed inconsiderately into the same employments, as if they imagined that those unpropitious, and in their nature temporary measures, were to be maintained forever. Such speculators were not without a warning of the consequences of their precipitation; but absorbed in their golden dreams, they were deaf to the voice of disinterested Prudence. They are now only in the condition of other improvident or unfortunate adventurers, distressed by incidents from which human affairs can never be exempt; but for whose relief, no one would ever contemplate the imposing a tax on the community, such as would be, in effect, the result of gratifying manufacturers by the adoption of the proposed tariff.

By order and in behalf of the Trustees,

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING,

President of the Essex Agricultural Society.

JOHN LOWELL, ESQ.

Corresponding Secretary of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society.



# HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

OF THE

## ESSEX INSTITUTE.

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CHARLES S. OSGOOD

LIBRARIAN OF THE ESSEX INSTITUTE, 1888-1897.

IN the death of Charles Stuart Osgood, the Essex Institute parts with an efficient librarian and a life-long friend. He became a member of the Institute, July, 1863, and was chosen its ninth librarian in 1888, succeeding in that office, Messrs. Phippen, Brooks, Stickney, Stone, Holden, Davis, Hyatt and Upham. His nine yearly reports, written in the clear, terse and cogent style of which he was a master, never failed to present the condition and needs of the growing mass of books intrusted to our care in an appreciable manner, and to contain suggestions of practical value.

Mr. Osgood was born in Salem, March 13, 1839, and died here in his fifty-ninth year, August 20, 1897. His wife was Elizabeth White, a daughter of Dr. John H. Batchelder of Salem, and she, with five children, survives him. He was a representative Salem man. All his life he had lived in Salem — his children and his ancestors were born here, and he had served Salem loyally and well

in many ways. In the County office which he filled so acceptably for a score of years he found himself the successor of such conspicuous Salem men as Emanuel Downing, Hilliard Veren, Bartholomew Gedney, Stephen Sewall, John Higginson, Timothy Pickering, John Pickering and Amos Choate.

His grandfather, Captain Nathaniel Osgood, was a typical, old-school shipmaster of Salem's proudest days, who built the substantial brick dwelling-house on the corner of Pine and Essex streets, and his father was Charles Osgood, the favorite local artist, whose brush, employed at studios in Essex Place and later at the Bulfinch Building in Central street, has perpetuated the features of more of our Salem worthies than any, and probably than all, other portrait painters who have lived amongst us.

Mr. Osgood's mother was Susan, a sister of Judge Joshua Holyoke Ward of the Court of Common Pleas, whose early death cut short one of the most brilliant professional careers that ever adorned the Essex Bar, and the Wards were a conspicuous Salem family from the very first, intermarrying, in Mr. Osgood's branch, with a descendant of Edward Holyoke, President of Harvard College for thirty years, and of his son Edward Augustus Holyoke, Mr. Osgood's maternal great-grandfather, who during his century of life served this community for four-score years as a family physician, and made himself the prop and pillar of all good thought and learning.

Entering the Salem High School in 1853, Mr. Osgood found occupation, after completing his course there, with a business firm on Essex street, but he was promptly called away from this to more congenial service in the office of the Registry of Probate. In 1858 the County Courts of Probate and of Insolvency were united and, in the new adjustment, there was no place for Mr. Osgood. But the knowledge he had acquired of the methods of these courts

enabled him to be of service to those doing business there, and for a while he found occupation within their precincts. After reading law in the office of Judge Jonathan C. Perkins, Mr. Osgood was admitted to the Essex Bar in 1863. He was not destined for a professional career. Soon after entering the Bar, he attached himself to the commissary department of the Army of West Virginia and at the end of this service was made deputy collector of the Port of Salem and Beverly. This responsible post he filled to great acceptance during three administrations, and it may not be indelicate to say in this connection that, while the collectorship then called for an official bond, in a large penal sum, the sureties on which were business men and not trust companies, and were held liable for the malfeasance not only of collectors but of their deputies also, no collector of the Port found difficulty in obtaining bonds while Mr. Osgood acted as his deputy. While holding this position he made himself familiar with the records of our commercial period, dating from the close of the Revolution, and thus unconsciously prepared himself to be its ablest chronicler, a few years later. On retiring from the Custom House in 1873, Mr. Osgood again occupied himself to some extent with probate practice as well as with the public duties to which he was invited. He had already made his mark in city affairs, filling responsible positions at the City Hall from 1863 to 1873, a formative period in the life of Salem. For the years 1866-'67-'68-'69, Mr. Osgood had a vote as an *ex officio* member of the School Board, being for those years president of the Common Council — one of two presidents of that body who have filled the chair for four years and the only one who has been chosen to it four years in succession. He was also an elective member of the School Board for 1873 and '74. At the close of 1867, he received the unusual compliment of a vote of thanks from the School Board, for the man-



ner in which he had presided during most of the year, in the absence of the mayor. His service in the Common Council covered three more years — 1864, '65 and '73, and for the years 1870-'71, he was an Alderman, so that scarcely a measure of importance was considered at the City Hall for those ten years, in which Mr. Osgood's influence was not felt. This was a period of exceptional activity. Street railways were being introduced and located — the last efforts were making to impose religious observances on the children of unwilling parents in the public schools — an inclination was manifest among abutters on Essex street between Washington and North streets to set back their buildings and put the southern line of our main thoroughfare where it should be, and the agitation was in progress which resulted, against opposition, in the bringing in of Wenham water. Parties were sharply divided and feeling ran high. Nobody was left in doubt as to Mr. Osgood's position on any of these matters. How broad and advanced were his views appears from remarks which he made on being reëlected to the chair of the Common Council in 1868. His address of acceptance contains these timely words:— "The year which commences to-day will be an important one in the annals of our city, for in the course of this season we confidently expect to see the completion of the great project which we were chosen two years ago to carry forward, and which we all sincerely believe will be fraught with such good results in increasing the health, prosperity and material welfare of all classes of our citizens; and, gentlemen, we shall be false to the trust reposed in us, if we do not exert ourselves to the utmost to insure, before another year shall have passed over us, the full and complete introduction of water from the source indicated by our citizens by so overwhelming a majority, and which they have so heartily endorsed by choosing us for a third time to see to it that

their wishes are carried out. The widening of Essex street, between North and Newbury streets, is a subject which deserves your thoughtful attention, to the end that some plan may be devised by which, in the course of time, an object so important to the comfort and beauty of our principal thoroughfare may be effected."

Mr. Osgood's legislative career was highly to be commended. He was chosen to the House of Representatives for 1874, and for the five succeeding years, when he resigned his seat to become Register of Deeds, April 1, 1879.

During these six years he accumulated valuable experience and acquired a recognized influence amongst his fellow members. His influence was marked, on the occasion of the choice of a United States Senator in 1877, when the dominant party, to which Mr. Osgood belonged, seemed to be hopelessly divided between three contestants. It was due largely to his efforts that a union was effected. Naturally he was placed at first on the Committee on Probate and Chancery — a committee important enough to have commanded the services of John A. Andrew when a member of the House, — and for two sessions he devoted himself to that labor. But on his reelection for 1876, he was placed on the Standing Committee of the House on Rules and Orders; on a special committee on Centennial matters; and on the very important Joint Standing Committee on Railroads. Before the end of his legislative career he had been chairman of each of them. The chairmanship of the Railroad Committee on the part of the House is one of the most conspicuous and responsible assignments, and is only entrusted to members of recognized capacity and weight. This chairmanship Mr. Osgood held for two years. At the end of his honorable career in the service of the State, he received the *ad interim* appointment of Register of Deeds for the



Southern District of his native county, made vacant by the death of Ephraim Brown, and this office, by successive popular elections, he retained until his death. Of the fifteen hundred volumes which our Records comprise, five hundred, or one-third of the whole number, have been copied while he filled the office. Meanwhile he became very familiar with the ancient entries, which never ceased to interest him, and at the same time he introduced changes in the administration of the office which kept it abreast of the growing demands of the public and of the legal profession. But, while he neglected no duty, he found time for collateral interests. His contributions to the commercial history of Salem, which appeared in Osgood and Batchelder's sketch of Salem printed by the Essex Institute, and in Hurd's History of Essex County, printed by Lewis & Co. of Philadelphia, are without a rival.

He was an original Life Trustee of the Public Library, and was chosen secretary of that board at its organization in February, 1888. In this position and in the kindred one of trustee of the Salem Athenæum, to which he was elected, May, 1887, he continued until his death. He succeeded Dr. Wheatland as clerk of the Salem Athenæum in 1891. Of the Salem Lyceum he became corresponding secretary in 1870, adding the labors of recording secretary in 1873, — he was chosen a manager in 1888, and succeeded to the trusteeship vacated by the death of Mr. George Peabody in 1892. In all of these duties — in all that he undertook he was able, constant and worthy of trust. A model officer, courteous, intelligent, firm; a genial friend; a careful, laborious student of, and interesting writer on, our local annals; a good citizen and neighbor, exemplary in all his ways, — Mr. Osgood has left a record only to be recalled with pride and with a sense of regret at his loss that will linger long in the memory of his friends.



# TOPSFIELD AND ROWLEY VILLAGE MEN WHO TOOK THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE AND FIDELITY.

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BY SIDNEY PERLEY.

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THE oath of allegiance and fidelity to the sovereign might be required, by the ancient common law, of all persons above the age of twelve, and it was repeatedly used as a test for the disaffected. It was first imposed by statute in the reign of Elizabeth. Its early form was exceedingly strong and comprehensive.

Charles II was in special favor of the established church, and the fact that only members of the Congregational church had the right of suffrage in New England greatly disturbed him. His Episcopalian friends here were ever ready to inform him of incidents that could be construed to indicate the liberty and independence of the colonies. He had real cause for anxiety when the people dwelling north of the Merrimac river refused to obey his mandates and the officers whom he had sent to enforce them. Foreseeing this result, on the decision of the court in England in the Mason claim, in 1677, he immediately had the oath of allegiance and fidelity taken, and repeated it the next year. This repetition indicates how unsettled and alarming the condition of the country was at that time. This indication of distrust in England is given additional force the next year (1679) by the creation of a royal province in the northern portion of the Mason domain, and seven years later by the elimination of the principal part of the right of self-government of the Massachusetts Bay and other New England colonies, and placing them within the king's control.

The following lists of the inhabitants of Topsfield and Rowley Village, who took the oath of allegiance and fidelity in 1677 and 1678, are found recorded in Ipswich Deeds, Volume IV, the first on page 167 and the second on page 225, those marked by an asterisk, being of Rowley Village:—

A list of those of Topsfield who according to an order of the Gen'ell Court appeared before Ens. John Gould, in decemb: and January 1677 and have taken the oath of Alegance & fidelity.

Tho : Perkins Jun.  
 Zach : Perkins  
 Timo : Perkins  
 Issack Comings Jun.  
 Jo : Comings Jun.  
 Eliash Perkins  
 Nath Comings  
 Wm Howlett  
 Issack Comings Sen.  
 John Wiles  
 Sam : Howlett  
 John Prichett  
 Wm Prichett  
 Joseph Prichett  
 John Hovey  
 Ephr Dorman  
 Tho : Dorman  
 Isaack Pabody  
 Tobiah Perkins  
 John Perkins  
 Timo Perkins  
 Dan : Borman  
 Wm. Averill  
 Dan : Redington  
 Nath : Hovey  
 Math : Stanley  
 John Stanley  
 James Watters  
 Wm Towne  
 Joseph Towne  
 Mich Dunill  
 Jo : Nicolls  
 Isaack Burton  
 Peeter Shamway  
 Wm Nicolls  
 Tho : Looke  
 Tho : Cave  
 Phillip Knight

Wm Hobbs  
 Isack Estie, Sen.  
 Jo : Robinson  
 Isaack Estie, Jun.  
 Joseph Estie  
 Jacob Townes  
 John Townes  
 Daniell Clarke  
 Evan Morrice  
 Mr. Wm Perkins, Sen.  
 \*Tho : Andrews  
 Sam : Stanley  
 \*Josiah Bridges  
 John How clark  
 Tho : Newmans (?)  
 \*Jo : Vinton  
 \*Arthur Carry  
 John Curtise  
 \*Zache : Curtise  
 \*Joseph Pabody  
 \*Jo Kimball  
 Ben : Bixbie  
 \*John Stiles  
 \*Jo : Andrews  
 \*Joseph Andrews  
 \*Dan : Blake  
 Jonah Lookes  
 Antho Baker  
 \*Blaze Vinton  
 Jo : — man  
 Tho : Tower  
 \*Robt Smith  
 \*Robt Stiles  
 \*Jo : Kemball  
 \*Dan : Wood  
 \*Sam : Simon & his three men not  
 taken oath.

These of Topsfield & Rowle village The maior Genell gave the oath  
 of Alegence the 18th of Dcembar 1678, a list

mr Jerry : Hubbord  
 mr Wm Perkins senr.  
 mr John Baker

Michael Dunniell  
 John Nicolls  
 Isaack Burton

mr John Bradstreet	Peeter Shonway
mr Tho: Baker	Will Nickles
mr Wm Perkins junr	John Robinson
Lift. ffr: Pabody	Thomas Caue
Ens: John Gould	Phill: Knight
*sergt Jo: Pabody	Wm Hobbs
sergt Isaack Comings	Isaack Estye
sergt Ephr: Dormau	Joseph Estye
Corp <sup>el</sup> Jacob Towne	John Estye
John ffrrench	John Townes
Isaack Esteye senr	Jacob Towne junr
John Wild	John Curtice
sergt Jo: Redington	*Zakory Curtice
Thomas Perkins	Tho: [Neumans?]
Joseph Towne senr	Evan Morice
Daniell Clarke	John Clarke
John How	Anthony Baker
*John Comings senr	John Gould junr
William Averill	*Sam: Symons
Sam: Howlett	*Tho: Andrews
William Howlett	Sam: Stanley
Daniell Borman	*Josiah Bridges
Tho Dorman	*Joseph Pabody
Mathew Stanley	*John Kimball
Tho: Perkins junr	*Robert Stiles
Zacheous Perkins	Beniamin Bixby
Timo: Perkins	*John Andres
Isaack Comings junr	*Joseph Andrews
John Comings junr	*John Stiles
Nath: Comings	*Daniell Black
John ———	Jonath: Looke
John Pritchett	*Blaze Vinton
Will Pritchett	*John Vinton
Joseph Pritchett	*Arther Carey
Wm Pabody	*Robert Smith
Isaack Pabody	*John Ramsdell
Tobiah Perkins	John Havens
John Perkins	Nath: Nurce
Timo: Perkins	Joshua Betion
Dan: Redington	*Sam: Busell
John Stanley	*Tho: Comings
James Watters	Jacob ffoster
Wm Townes	*ffrancis Lathe
Joseph Townes junr	Elisha Perkins
Thomas Townes	



TOPSFIELD BILL OF ESTATE,  
MADE BETWEEN 1723 AND 1725.

	Poles	Personal			
		Real estate		estate	
Wedo Hannah and ann Aurel . . . . .	0	0 0	01 11	00	6
Nathaniel aurel . . . . .	3	7 6	03 0	01	8
Wed Mahitabel aurel . . . . .	1	2 6	02 11	01	2
Joseph andrew . . . . .	1	2 6	02 6	00	6
lef Thomas Baker . . . . .	3	7 6	05 3	03	1
mr Simon Bradstret . . . . .	1	2 6	04 0	01	4
Samuel Bradstret . . . . .	1	2 6	02 11	01	7
Beniamin bixby . . . . .	1	2 6	01 6	00	9
Joseph Borman . . . . .	2	5 0	01 7	01	3
nathaniel borman . . . . .	2	5 0	03 6	01	10
David Baultch . . . . .	2	5 0	00 6	00	2
Daniel Clark . . . . .	3	7 6	02 5	01	8
wed and John Clark . . . . .	1	2 6	00 9	00	3
Jacob Clark . . . . .	1	2 6	00 0	00	0
mr John Capen . . . . .	1	2 6	01 4	00	4
nathaniel Cepen . . . . .	1	2 6	00 0	00	0
Joseph commings . . . . .	1	2 6	01 4	00	10
Joseph commings Jun . . . . .	0	0 0	00 9	00	0
lef Ephraim dorman . . . . .	2	5 0	03 3	01	8
Jesse dorman . . . . .	1	2 6	02 8	01	4
wed Deborah dorman . . . . .	0	0 0	01 7	01	3
Jacob Esty . . . . .	1	2 6	02 3	01	2
ens John Gould . . . . .	3	7 6	03 1	01	5
Thomas Gould . . . . .	3	7 6	01 4	01	2
lef Joseph Gould . . . . .	1	2 6	03 2	01	7
Zacheus Gould . . . . .	1	2 6	01 10	01	3
[Samuel?] Gould . . . . .	2	5 0	00 3	00	2
Thomas garr . . . . .	1	2 6	01 8	00	9
cap John How . . . . .	0	0 0	01 10	00	10
sar John Howlett . . . . .	2	5 0	03 3	01	9
Samuel howlet . . . . .	1	2 6	01 9	01	1
John honey . . . . .	2	5 0	02 1	01	8

	Poles	Real estate		Personal estate			
Iuory houey . . . . .	1	2	6	02	8	01	0
nathaniel hood . . . . .	0	0	0	01	4	00	6
Beniaman how . . . . .	1	2	6	00	0	00	2
Joseph how . . . . .	1	2	6	00	0	00	0
Samuel lamson . . . . .	0	0	0	00	5	00	0
Elizar lak . . . . .	2	5	0	04	9	01	8
Edward nealand . . . . .	0	0	0	00	11	00	0
Philip nealand . . . . .	0	0	0	01	1	00	0
mr Isaac pabody . . . . .	2	5	0	07	6	02	0
sar Jacob pabody . . . . .	2	5	0	02	10	01	4
Iaac pebody Jun . . . . .	1	2	6	00	0	00	2
cap Tobiia pirkins . . . . .	1	2	6	03	6	01	6
mr Tobiia pirkins . . . . .	1	2	6	00	0	00	9
cap Thomas parley . . . . .	0	0	0	00	2	00	2
wed and Timothy pirkins . . . . .	1	2	6	02	3	01	2
John prichard . . . . .	0	0	0	00	11	00	5
Thomas perkins . . . . .	1	2	6	03	6	02	1
Zacheus perkins . . . . .	1	2	6	02	3	01	0
Elisha purkins . . . . .	3	7	6	04	3	02	2
Timothy purkins . . . . .	3	7	6	02	8	01	4
ens Timothy purkins . . . . .	4	10	0	03	6	02	2
Thomas purkins Jun . . . . .	1	2	6	01	1	01	0
John purkins . . . . .	1	2	6	01	5	00	9
Johnathan purkins . . . . .	1	2	6	00	5	00	4
Jacob purkins . . . . .	1	2	6	00	0	00	4
Dea Daniel Redington . . . . .	3	7	6	04	4	01	5
John Redington . . . . .	0	0	0	00	0	00	2
Daniel Redington Junr . . . . .	1	2	6	00	0	00	6
Jacob Redington . . . . .	1	2	6	00	0	00	2
mr John and Jacob Robinson . . . . .	1	2	6	02	9	01	2
Joseph Robinson . . . . .	1	2	6	01	3	00	6
Samuel Smith . . . . .	1	2	6	01	4	00	11
William Town . . . . .	2	5	0	02	0	01	3
Joshua Town . . . . .	1	2	6	01	0	00	11
John Town . . . . .	1	2	6	02	0	00	11
Jacob Town . . . . .	1	2	6	00	0	00	5
Ephraim Wilds Senr . . . . .	2	5	0	03	2	01	3
John Wilds . . . . .	2	5	0	00	7	00	6
Ephraim Wilds . . . . .	1	2	6	00	0	00	2
Jonathan Wilds . . . . .	1	2	6	00	0	00	2
Jonathan borman . . . . .	1	2	6	00	0	00	0
Jems gloid . . . . .	1	2	6	00	0	00	0

	Poles	Real estate	Personal estate
John curby . . . . .	1	2 6 00 0	00 0
John wilerd . . . . .	1	2 6 00 0	00 2
John houiey Junr . . . . .	1	2 6 00 0	00 0
Samuel Robenson . . . . .	1	2 6 00 0	00 0
Robord purkins . . . . .	1	2 6 00 0	00 2

## COUNTY RATE MADE THE 18 OF NOVEMBER 1668 FOR TOPSFIELD.

Tho Avery . . . . .	4 3	Tho Hobes . . . . .	13 1
Will Avery . . . . .	6 0	Ensigne Howlett . . . . .	4 10
Tho Baker . . . . .	6 6	John morall . . . . .	9 11
Tho Browning . . . . .	8 4	Evans Mories . . . . .	2 0
Mickall Boudon . . . . .	2 8	Jon Nickols . . . . .	2 9
Daniel Black . . . . .	3 6	Will Nickols . . . . .	11 8
Daniell Borman . . . . .	14 4	Frances Pebody . . . . .	1 4 2
Edmand Bridges . . . . .	4 6	Joseph Pebody . . . . .	5 7
Samuel Cuttler . . . . .	8 11	Mr Wm Perkins . . . . .	12 9
Daniel Clarke . . . . .	9 5	Tho Perkins . . . . .	1 1 6
Antony Carell . . . . .	5 6	Debory Perkins . . . . .	2 0
Isack Cummings Sr . . . . .	7 3	Will Prichat . . . . .	5 0
Isack Cummings jr . . . . .	10 0	John Redington . . . . .	1 1 10
Mickall Donell . . . . .	5 6	Jon Robinson . . . . .	2 10
Ephraim Dorman . . . . .	8 0	Mathu Stanley . . . . .	7 10
Tho Dorman . . . . .	9 6	Will Smith Corp . . . . .	4 4
Isack Estey . . . . .	9 8	William Towne . . . . .	} 11 6
John French . . . . .	8 6	Joseph Towne . . . . .	
mr Gilbert . . . . .	4 6	Jacob Towne . . . . .	7 6
Jon Gould . . . . .	1 2 0	Edmond Towne . . . . .	14 3
John How . . . . .	12 6	James Watters . . . . .	4 0
Mathu Hucker . . . . .	2 8	John Wilds . . . . .	13 3
John Hovey . . . . .	9 6	Luke Waklin . . . . .	1 0

FRANCES PEBODY	} Selectmen.
JOHN GOULD	
THOMAS BAKER	
DANIEL BORMAN	



## SOME OLD IPSWICH HOUSES.

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BY THOMAS FRANKLIN WATERS.

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It is a partial recompense for the sleepy, unprogressive life that has prevailed in old Ipswich for a century or more that a large number of substantial mansions of the colonial type have been preserved in their pristine simplicity. They have escaped the smart remodelling incident to vigorous prosperity, which often despoils such of their old chimneys, and improves them, as the phrase is, with porticoes, piazzas, bay-windows and modern coverings for the roof, until only a memory of the original house remains. Nearly every one of our ancient mansions retains its severe Puritan plainness of architecture, the great chimney stack, jutting-over stories, small windows and modest front door. The only change they have suffered is the ancient one which was in vogue more than two centuries ago, when new rooms were built on the back side, and new rafters were run towards the ridge-pole, giving the familiar "lean-to" roof.

Many of these houses are of venerable age, beyond a doubt, but not so old by many years, I am convinced, as popular belief assigns them. It pleases our local pride to call them relics of the earliest times. It gratifies their owners or occupants to see them gazed at with wide-eyed wonder by the stranger to whom the story of their great age is told. The visiting artist or lover of antiquarian

lore is enraptured with their appearance and the traditions that cluster about them, and straightway publishes abroad the quaint charm of these old landmarks. When our 250th anniversary was celebrated, certain old dwellings were placarded to the effect that they were built in 1635, or thereabouts. Statements of this nature are still being made at frequent intervals.

In the interest of historic truth alone, I am compelled to call attention to the facility with which error can be made in this field, the importance of recognizing certain cardinal principles of accurate historical research, and the pressing need of an unbiassed application of these principles to the antiquities of our town, before the errors already made are hopelessly crystallized.

A strong presumption against the veracity of any reputed date, before the middle of the seventeenth century at the least, is found in the known facts relating to the architecture of our earliest times.

The builders of this town found it a wilderness, hardly broken by the few squatter settlers who had dwelt here prior to their coming. They built as any pioneer builds to-day, I imagine — as the Plymouth Pilgrims did — simple homes of logs, or hand-hewed timber, with thatch-roof and wooden chimney, well covered with clay to save it from burning. They had no time for elaborate house-building, for land had to be cleared, crops sown and tended, and provision made for their support through the coming winter. They had no material for nice carpentry. Permission to build the first saw-mill, of which any record remains, was not granted until 1649. Every joist and board was sawed by hand in saw pits, or smoothed with the broad-axe. Every nail, hinge and lock was hammered out by the blacksmith.

Adequate evidence of reputed age must of necessity be documentary.

Tradition is whimsical and fantastic. It chains poor Harry Main on Ipswich bar, and locates a ghost in his house, recently demolished, which was vanquished by the united efforts of the three ministers then resident here, and effectually cast out. It frightens old Nick out of the meeting house when Whitefield preaches and shows his footprint in the ledge.

Tradition is ludicrously unhistoric. It links the romance of the regicides with a house, that was not built until long years after the last of the famous three had been buried in his secret grave. Tradition is no more reliable than the common gossip of the town. It has a grain of truth to-day. To-morrow it will be wholly false. A month hence, its falsehood will be curious and wondrous.

A sober and reliable man recently affirmed that, in his boyhood, the farm house recently purchased by Mr. Campbell of Mr. Asa Wade was moved from a neighboring corner to its present location; but Mrs. Julia Willett, who was married in the old house that stood about where the present one is, and went to live at Willett's mill near by, states that the present house was built, where it stands, about 1833, and Mr. Francis H. Wade is confident that the house which was moved is the one now owned and occupied by Mrs. William Kimball. How easily the history of these houses is confused and misstated only sixty years away from the fact!

An ancient type of architecture is an insufficient proof of extreme age. One of our most venerable houses was torn down when Mr. George E. Farley's house was built, and its site is occupied by his residence. The old relic had all the marks of great age: huge chimney, projecting over-stories, low, sloping "lean-to" roof, great summers or central beams in the low studded lower rooms, and very small windows.



This corner was purchased by William Donnton of Thomas Lovell in 1695, an unpretending hundred-rod lot with no building of any sort mentioned as standing upon it. These old deeds are very explicit and that so large an item as a house could have been omitted in the description of the estate is incredible. At Donnton's decease his daughter Elizabeth, wife of Robert Perkins, sold her right and title in "the mansion or dwelling house and barn, with part of the homestead on which they stand to our loving brother-in-law, Joseph Holland," in 1721. In 1765, at Widow Holland's death, it was purchased by Francis Holmes, a physician. This old mansion was built, therefore, subsequently to 1695. This type of architecture, it is believed, established itself about 1660, but it continued well into the following century.

Contemporaneous documentary evidence, then, deeds of sale, wills, town records, etc., must be the decisive test, and when the credible written document conflicts with the unwritten tradition or the recorded tradition even, the tradition must go to the wall. Even this evidence must be carefully weighed, for there is possibility of error lurking here.

The question of the identity of a house now in existence with a house mentioned in an early deed or record is always pertinent. As in our own time, a man may buy an estate, remove the old house, build anew, and sell again, and no evidence of this appear in the deeds, except from an enhanced price; so a succession of houses may have occupied the same lot in the past, without a word of allusion in the deeds to any change. It is an historic fact that houses had been built very near the beginning of our town on many lots, which may be readily recognized, and on some of which old houses still remain; but it is far from certain that these are the identical early dwellings.

The use of material from an old house in construction of a new one may also prove a false scent. An old brick with a date stamped upon it may be found; but this may have been used as a souvenir of some earlier building. Unsupported by more substantial evidence it cannot carry much weight.

An interesting illustration of the blending of the old and the new has just been afforded by the building of an addition to the house owned by the late William Kinsman on the South side. On stripping off the modern clap-boards it was seen that the boarding was very old. One board of clear white pine, extra thick, was twenty-three inches wide. Many hand-wrought nails were found. As cut nails were not made until 1790, it might have been surmised that this was the identical old house that deeds of sale mention far back into the preceding century. But it is known that this old building was either destroyed, or changed so completely that a new house resulted about the beginning of this century, and careful inspection shows old nail holes that indicate an earlier use of these old boards.

The question of age then, it will be seen, is one that admits of no certain solution in many instances. Identity may not be disproved, but it is not established for lack of proof to the contrary. The principles we have already outlined, as underlying all historic judgment, compel us to admit the existence of doubt as to the validity of the supposed date, where great antiquity is assumed.

It will be recognized readily now, that the accurate determination or even approximation of age of any building involves much careful research. Step by step, advance must be made toward the goal. No guesswork, no hasty assumption, no romantic fancies can be tolerated. The toil involved is great, but it is as fascinating as the pry-

ing open of any secret in nature or in history. In my own researches I have arrived at certain conclusions which I proceed to state, as an illustration of the method which seems to me necessary, in every case, before probable accuracy can be assumed.

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#### JOHN WHIPPLE'S HOUSE.

The old house now owned by Mr. James W. Bond, near the depot, shall be the first considered. In the original division of lands, according to the town records, Daniel Denison received two acres near the mill, Mr. Fawn's house-lot being southwest, and Mr. Fawn's lot was bounded by Mr. Samuel Appleton's on the southwest. The Denison land included the area bounded by Market, Winter and Union streets at present. The Appleton ownership of land beyond the old house is unquestioned. Mr. Fawn's house-lot included the site of the old mansion.

As early as 1638, allusion is made in the town records to the house-lot "formerly John Fawn's." Felt says that he removed to Haverhill in 1641. He may have gone earlier. In the year 1642, John Whipple was in occupation of this property, for in that year the town ordered that John Whipple "should cause the fence to be made between the house late Captain Denison's and the sayd John Whipple, namely on the side next Capt. Denison's." Denison had sold his house and land here to Humphrey Griffin on Jan. 19, 1641, the record informs us, so that the allusion to a change of ownership occasions no difficulty.

Mr. John Fawn executed a quitclaim deed in October, 1650, which confirmed the sale of a house and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres of land to Mr. John Whipple, formerly sold unto said John Whipple by John Jolley, Samuel Appleton, John Cogswell,



Robert Muzzey and Humphrey Bradstreet. The nature of this earlier transaction is a mystery, but Fawn's title was not wholly extinguished until this deed was executed.

The will of John Whipple, senior, signed and sealed May 19, 1669, gave his house, etc., to his son John. Capt. John Whipple's will dated Aug. 2, 1683, left his property to his sons, John, Matthew and Joseph, and his daughter. Joseph, not yet of age, was to have the house where he lived, if the other sons agreed. In the actual division "the mansion house, his father died in, with the barn, out-houses, kiln, orchard, etc., with  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres of land more or less," was given to John.

The Whipple malt kiln is frequently mentioned from very early times. The building mentioned in this will is probably the same that stood where the mill store-house is now, which was removed about sixty-five years ago to the lot adjoining the South parsonage, built up a story, and still serves the better purpose of shop and woodshed, its boards and timbers blackened by years of malting.

Major John Whipple in his will, 1722, gave his daughter, Mary Crocker and her heirs, his homestead and many of the furnishings; and a remembrance to his son-in-law, Benjamin Crocker. Mr. Crocker was a teacher of the grammar school and preached frequently. Major Joseph Hodgkins married a daughter of Benjamin Crocker, and bought out the others, I am informed. At his decease, Mr. Nathaniel Wade, a son-in-law, was administrator and sold the house and an acre of land to one Moore or More, who in his turn sold to Mr. Abraham Bond. Another acre was sold to Mr. Estes.

The pedigree of this property seems beyond a doubt. Mr. Saltonstall never owned a foot of land here. His ownership of the mill in the near vicinity is beyond question. He also owned the "Mill Garden," as it is called

in the old records, but the location of this latter property is settled beyond question by the deed of sale, by Richard and Nathaniel Saltonstall to John Waite and Samuel Dutch (April 2, 1729), of one-third of the "Mill Garden," comprising one and one-half acres, bounded on the south-east by the Town River, on the north-east and north-west by the County Road, and on the south-west by the road leading to the mills, with house, dye-house, stable, mills, etc., lately the property of Col. Nathaniel Saltonstall of Haverhill.

Dutch disposed of his interest in the two grist mills and the piece of land called the Mill Garden near the mills, to John Waite, Jr., on Feb. 19, 1730. This "Garden" included, therefore, all the land bordering on the River from the Choate Bridge, down Market street, to the corner of Union, and then up Union street to the Mill. The house mentioned in the former deed was not Mr. Saltonstall's residence. His town dwelling and a goodly fourteen acre home-lot were on the South side, and his deed of sale to Samuel Bishop (Sept., 1680), with other deeds, which will be mentioned in the study of "a group of old houses near the South Green," shows that his mansion was near the southern end of the Green.

Pleasing as it is to the popular mind to associate the name of the high-born Saltonstall with this old mansion, if we value truth, as I interpret it, we must drop the old fable. As to the present house, it cannot reasonably be identified with the house of 1640 or thereabout, on the general grounds we have mentioned. The first John Whipple left an humble estate, the second John was very wealthy. His estate inventoried £3314. His household effects were elaborate and multitudinous. The probabilities are that he built the present mansion some time subsequent to 1669 and prior to 1683.



## THE APPLETON HOUSE.

The comfortable residence of Mr. George D. Wildes, on the corner of Market and Central streets, is much more ancient than its appearance indicates, and is one of the most interesting of our old mansions.

Happily, it has been owned by a succession of well-to-do people, who have kept it in excellent repair. The original shape of the house has been lost, however, as it was formerly three stories high, and several modern additions have been made. Mr. Hammatt surmised that it was built about 1681. This cannot be true. Col. John Appleton bought the lot, containing about an acre and a half, of Jacob Davis, for £33, February 25, 1707. There was no house on the land at that time. An old map of this locality shows that it was there in 1717. Between these two dates, probably about 1707, the house was built.

Colonel Appleton was Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for many years, and Judge of Probate for thirty-seven years. He was also a Deputy and Councillor. In his day, the old mansion was one of the finest in our town, and was renowned for its elegance and open hospitality. Governor Shute on his way to New Hampshire tarried here in 1716, and many a distinguished traveller enjoyed its good cheer.

Col. John's son, Daniel, succeeded to the ownership on his father's death. He was also a Colonel, a Representative, a Justice of the Court of Sessions, and Register of Probate from January 9, 1723, to Aug. 26, 1762.

Another Register of the old Probate Court, Daniel Noyes, who filled the office from Sept. 29, 1776, to May 29, 1815, owned and occupied this house, already so closely associated with the judicial annals of our town. He was a citizen of the finest quality. He was graduated from



Harvard in 1758, taught the Grammar school from 1762 to 1774; was delegate to the Congress of the United Colonies in 1774-5, and became Postmaster in 1775.

Mr. Abraham Hammatt, the eminent antiquarian, purchased and remodelled the house, and from him it has come by inheritance to its present owner.

Before it was remodelled, it contained a dark chamber or closet, which came to have no small celebrity as the reputed hiding place of one of the Regicides. No record or tradition remains of any sojourn of a Regicide in this vicinity, and the house was not built for years after the last of the eminent fugitives had been laid to rest in his secret grave.

Nevertheless, the romantic tale found ready credence, and still survives. The late Mrs. Wilhelmina Wildes used to declare that it was the invention of some airy seminary girl, who roomed in the old house. Be that as it may, the dark room in question was very likely the repository of the probate records. It is well known that "Squire" Lord, who succeeded Mr. Noyes as Register, kept the books in his house until the brick probate office was built, and it is more than probable that Mr. Noyes and his predecessor, Colonel Appleton, provided a place of deposit under their own roof.

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"YE SPARKS 'ORDINARY.'"

Close by the Wildes mansion the Baker house, so called, now occupied by Mr. George K. Dodge, affords an interesting study. Is it identical with the famous old hostelry kept by John Sparks, at which Judge Sewall used to lodge, and many another famous man?

This location was originally granted to William Fuller,

the gunsmith of the Pequod expedition. To the half acre the town granted him, he added half an acre more, which he purchased of William Simmons, and another small lot which was bought of Christopher Osgood, who then adjoined him on the lower side, making about an acre and a quarter in all. He sold this with the "small dwelling" he had built to John Knowlton, shoemaker, in 1639. Wm. White succeeded in the ownership, and sold "the dwelling house, barn, orchard, garden and Parrocke or inclosure of earable land adjoining," two acres in all, to "John Sparks, Biskett Baker," in 1671. In that year he received his first license "to sell beere at a penny a quart, provided he entertain no Town inhabitants in the night, nor suffer any to bring wine or liquors to be drunk in his house." He built a bake house for the furtherance of his business. For twenty years he kept his ordinary, and then sold an acre and a half of his property with the bake house and barn to Col. John Wainwright, but continued to live on the remainder. In 1705, John Roper sold the Colonel the house, "formerly in possession of Mr. John Sparks, now in possession of Mary, widow of John, with a small parcel of land."

When Colonel Wainwright sold the whole estate to Deacon Nath. Knowlton in 1707, it included two distinct tenements, as they were styled: the one higher up the Hill, occupied by Thomas Smith, innholder (which was probably the old tavern); the other, at the southeast corner, occupied still by the widow Sparks, who had a life interest in it. Deacon Knowlton divided the estate into three parts and sold them in 1710. Ebenezer Smith bought the lot on the southeast corner of the estate, with six rods frontage, and a small dwelling house. It is specified that it adjoined the Appleton property, now the Wildes estate. This then is easily identified as the

location now occupied by Mr. Charles W. Brown, the apothecary.

The middle lot, containing an acre of land with house, barn, etc., was sold to John Smith, shoemaker. The upper lot, measuring three rods on the street, without a house, was bought by Ephraim Smith, brother of John.

John Smith sold a part of his lot to Edward Eveleth in 1732, and all the rest of his estate, with the house, to Jacob Boardman in 1734. Boardman sold to Patrick Farren, a periwig-maker, and to James McCreelis of the same craft in 1735. McCreelis bought the other half and sold the whole to Nath. Treadwell, innkeeper, in 1737. Jacob Treadwell, son of Nathaniel, received "the tavern house" and land as his portion of the paternal estate in 1777. The Treadwell tavern was frequented by John Adams and the Bench and Bar of pre-revolutionary days, and figures in the diaries of the time. Moses Treadwell, jr., came into possession in 1815 and in 1834 his executors sold to Joseph Baker, Esq., of Boston, whose name still attaches to the house.

Evidently the house that the widow Sparks occupied stood about where Mr. C. W. Brown's house is to-day, as we have mentioned above. Was this the inn, or was the building, called the "bake-house," really the ordinary? The house is called a small house. Thomas Smith, the purchaser of the bake-house, etc., was an inn-keeper. I surmise that the latter alternative is the more probable. Is the present Baker house identical with that old "bake-house?" Its whole appearance indicates later architecture and more noble use. The probabilities all seem to me against such identification. But I know of no data which can establish its exact age. It was built evidently for two families. The two large chimneys seem to have been built in their present location, and not to replace an



original central chimney stack. The arrangement of stairways, etc., indicates this double use. The house that Jacob Boardman sold to Patrick Farren and James McCreelis in 1735 was a double house and probably this. Boardman bought the place in 1734 and it is wholly improbable that he would have built a new house and sold it at once. So it belonged to John Smith, we may presume, and John Smith may have bought it in 1710 and it may be the very house that Thomas Smith, innholder, used for an ordinary in 1707. But of this we cannot be sure. The only thing we can seem to affirm with any certainty is that it was probably erected prior to 1734.

The old house that now occupies the corner of Winter and Market Sts. was moved there some fifty years ago from its original location between the Baker house and Mr. Brown's. Christian Wainwright, the widow of John, bought this lot in 1741. There is no mention of a house in this deed, but in her deed of sale to Daniel Staniford, in 1748, the house is specified. It was built between these two dates.

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#### JOHN PROCTOR'S HOUSE AND ITS NEIGHBORS.

Three neighbors of the olden time were John Proctor, Thomas Wells and Samuel Younglove, and it has been affirmed so often, that it has become an axiom, that Mr. Samuel N. Baker's residence is the old Proctor house, that the ancient dwelling that stood where the Town House is was Wells's, and that Younglove occupied an ancient house, which disappeared long ago, farther along the street. If we search carefully we may arrive at a different conclusion.

John Proctor's lot, on which his house stood, occupied the square now bounded by South Main, Elm and County

streets and the River. Of this there can be no doubt. Proctor sold to Thomas Firman in 1647, and in the following year, in the inventory of Firman's estate, Mr. Proctor's property was appraised at £18 10s., a low valuation indicating a small and cheap house with this amount of land. George Palmer owned it in 1651, as he sold then to Ralph Dix, and in 1661 Dix sold this  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres and house to Ezekiel Woodward. Incidentally we learn where the house stood. Liberty was granted Cornet Whipple, in 1673, "to sett up a fulling mill at the smaller falls, near Ezekiel Woodward's house." Woodward's house then was on the County-street side of the lot, and where else should we naturally suppose it? County street, from the corner by the church to the river, was one of the most ancient thoroughfares. The present South Main street, on which the Baker house fronts, was not opened until 1646, when the cart bridge was built. Years after the bridge was built, in 1672, Ezekiel Woodward sold Shoreborne Wilson a half-acre tract, which had a frontage on the street, now called South Main, of seven rods, and was bounded by his lot on the south and east, and on the north, by "the Common and the River," which would indicate that the two rods "fisherman's way" was continuous along the river bank at that time. Seven rods, measured from the river bank, includes the site of the Baker mansion, and at this date, 1672, there is no evidence that any building of any sort had been erected on this lot.

Woodward sold the remainder of his land and house to John Hubbard in 1679. Hubbard sold to Nathaniel Rust, senior, 1685, one acre of this property, the eastern portion, with the house, reserving a right of way, where Elm street now is, and on the same day, he sold Shoreborne Wilson the remainder, the western part on South Main

street, reserving one rod wide against Knowlton's fence for a right of way, as in the previous deed, no edifice being mentioned.

Wilson sold his house and an acre and half of land to John Lane in 1694. As he bought the vacant lot in 1672, the house was erected between these two dates, 1672 and 1694.

John Lane sold the property to Edward Bromfield and Francis Burroughs of Boston, in 1697, and from them it passed to Samuel Appleton in 1702. After his death, Jasper Waters and Jasper Waters, junior, of London, linen drapers, creditors, possibly, of the deceased merchant, purchased the widow's right of dower, and sold the estate to Isaac Fitts, hatter, consisting now of a mansion or dwelling house, barn, etc., in the year 1734.

Fitts sold the northern corner of this property "near the southerly abutment of Town Bridge" to Thomas Burnam, junior, April 5, 1736; and now, for the first time, it is mentioned that a house and barn are located here. The conclusion of the matter is, therefore, that the Baker mansion is the old Shoreborne Wilson residence, built between 1672 and 1694, and that the old Ross tavern, as it came to be, now owned by Mr. Warren Boynton, was built between 1734 and 1736.

Thomas Wells's house and land came into the hands of Stephen Jordan, and were sold by him to Samuel Younglove, jr., and by him to George Hart. Various deeds make it plain that the house was on or near County street.

Samuel Younglove, senior, owned a lot, which fronted on South Main street, and his house is located pretty definitely by his deed of sale of house, barn and an acre of land to Dea. William Goodhue in 1669, and in Joseph Goodhue's deed to Isaac Fellows, junior, 1694. It stood not far from the old gambrel-roofed house on the estate of the late John Heard.



One word in this connection as to the site of the original Foot Bridge, alluded to in our earliest records. The record mentions that Thomas Wells's house-lot was "on the further side the River, near the foot-bridge." Locating Wells on the corner of Elm and County streets, we may locate the Foot Bridge at the only natural and easy place for such a bridge in this vicinity. Originally the land on which the saw mill now stands was a rocky island, separated by a narrow stream only from the mainland on the south. A single tree trunk would have reached from the old highway to the island, another long log would have spanned the rocky river bed at its narrowest. A foot-bridge here would have afforded easy access to the meeting house and the centre of the little community. Here, I believe, the foot-bridge of ancient Ipswich really was.

But the record remains, I am aware, that, in 1655, the Town "agreed with John Andrews Junior, to bring so many sufficient rayles to the Bridge-foot as will cover the Bridge over the River, neare the mill for the sum of £3," and it has been assumed that thus the foot-bridge was near the mill.

But foot-bridge and bridge-foot differ as truly as a horse chestnut differs from a chestnut horse. The bridge-foot evidently means the end of the bridge, or the approach to the bridge, for the bridge in question is the cart-bridge as the record itself makes evident. Thus the same Mr. Andrews was granted six acres of salt marsh for gravelling "the one half the Bridge the rayles are laid," and John West is awarded as much more for the other half. No conceivable foot-bridge would have involved such large expense.

Confirmation of this sense of the word is found in the assignment of Isaiah Wood as surveyor of highways, "from the foot of the Town-bridge to the turning of the highway on this side Windmill-Hill," in 1678.

## ON THE RIVER BANK.

The river bank from the mill-dam to the Bridge was wholly unoccupied and ungranted as late as 1693, except one small lot by the dam, which was occupied by Samuel Ordway's blacksmith shop. In March of that year, the Selectmen laid out this stretch of land in twenty-three lots, ranging from thirty-six feet to eighteen feet in width, and granted them to as many individuals. It was stipulated by the Town that these lots were given "provided that they make up the banck strong front to ye low water mark and no further into the River, and that they build or front up their several parts within twelve months after this time, and that they build no further into the Street than the Committee shall see fit, and that they cumber not the highway nor stop the water in the street, but make provision for the water to run free into the river under such buildings, and also that each man's part be sett out, and that each person provide and make a good way by paving a way four foot wide all along before ye said buildings for the conveniency of foot travellers, and to have posts sett up upon the outside to keep off Teams from spoyling the same, and that it be done with stone, or if they are timber, must be purchased of others, if they have not of their own timber."

These rigorous conditions discouraged the improvement of the lots. They reverted to the Town, apparently, for the most part. Robert Lord built a shop, and Mrs. Dean owned a house on this territory, prior to 1722. Rev. Augustine Caldwell identifies the Dean house with a dwelling that formerly occupied the site of the old lace factory now used as a tenement house.<sup>1</sup>

Joseph Abbey received a grant, made a wall and built a house near Mrs. Dean's. In 1723, he petitioned the

town for help, as his place had cost him more than he anticipated, and received ten pounds. His house was built about 1722, probably, and Mr. Caldwell states that this is the old house formerly occupied by Mr. Wesley K. Bell.

Nathaniel Fuller bought the lot assigned his brother Joseph, twenty-eight feet wide, in 1693. Thomas Knowlton bought Cornelius Kent's lot, eighteen feet wide, and sold to Fuller, whose lot was then forty-six feet in width. He built the wall, filled in the lot suitably for building, and erected a dwelling. Allusion to "Nathaniel Fuller, deceased" in 1726, shows that his house antedates that year. In 1739, Nathaniel Knowlton of Haverhill gave a quitclaim deed of the house, etc., of the late Nathaniel Fuller to Nathaniel Fuller, junior, tailor, and it is described as "joining the Town Bridge." This is the house owned by the late Mrs. Susan Trow. It had originally a central chimney stack.

Isaac Fitts, hatter, petitioned for forty feet on the river bank, adjoining Fuller's land in 1726, that he might set a dwelling thereon. This was granted provided he built within two years. He built at once, for Joseph Abbe asked the Town in 1727 to add twenty feet more of the river bank to his former grant "the front to extend from the Easterly corner in a straight line toward Isaac Fitts's dwelling, which is the easterly corner of said Abbe's shop." Fitts sold to Arthur Abbott, innholder, for £240, in 1733, his house, shop, half the well, and eight rods of land, "being partly a grant made to Capt. Daniel Ringe, the other to me by the Town." The lot had sixty feet frontage, and abutted on the south on the land dwelt on by Jonathan Lord. Abbott sold to Cornelius Brown, of Boxford, for £370 bills of credit, bounded by Jonathan Lord and Nathaniel Fuller, in 1738. Daniel Brown, of Cambridge, sold to Daniel Badger, painter, in 1760; Mary Badger to Timothy Souther; one-fourth interest in 1794,



bounded by Nathaniel Rust and John Kimball. This is the old "Souther" house, next south of Mr. Baker's store.

William Jones desired "the remaining part of the River's bank next Joseph Abbe's grant down the River to the place reserved for a highway which is about 60 feet," in 1727. This was granted him, and the Committee recommended that a way twenty feet wide to the river be reserved. This public way to the river remains, adjoining the property lately owned by Wesley K. Bell, Esq. The house, on the south side of this way, is the one erected by Mr. Jones at this time, now owned and occupied by Mr. Edward Ready.

The lot adjoining the twenty feet way in 1726 was granted Joseph Manning, who was desirous of settling in his native town, but had no dwelling place. It was eighty or ninety feet long. Dr. Manning built his house forthwith, and occupied it to the time of his death, 1786. By the provision made in his will, it then became the property of his daughter Anstice, wife of Francis Cogswell, who sold the house, warehouse, and one hundred and six feet frontage, to Joseph Cogswell, in 1808. Here Joseph Green Cogswell, the eminent teacher of the Round Hill school and librarian of the Astor Library, was born. It is owned now by Mr. Josiah Stackpole.

The house between this and the Souther house is alluded to as occupied by Jonathan Lord as early as 1733, and was probably built about the time its neighbors were. It is quite a remarkable circumstance that six very comfortable houses stand here side by side, every one of which was built in the near vicinity of 1725.

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#### A GROUP OF OLD HOUSES NEAR THE SOUTH GREEN.

Richard Saltonstall owned fourteen acres, about eight acres of which lay to the south of the brook, then called

Saltonstall's Brook, and frequently alluded to under that name, and the remainder north of it, extending from the highway to the river. This is the brook that crosses the road by Mr. Josiah Stackpole's soap factory. Mr. Saltonstall's house was somewhere north of the brook.

This whole property, including his mansion, he sold to Samuel Bishop representing the estate of Thomas Bishop, September, 1680. Job Bishop sold to Capt. Stephen Cross in 1684. Cross divided the property. In 1689, Nathaniel Rust was in possession of the part on the south of the brook. The half acre, north of the brook, fronting on the street was sold to Elisha Treadwell and by him to John Treadwell in 1689, and by him to Thomas Manning in 1691. Manning also acquired a rod more frontage in 1692 and a quarter of an acre in the rear in 1696. This tract did not include Saltonstall's house.

Capt. Stephen Cross left the remainder of his estate to his two minor sons, Stephen and John, in 1691; and in 1706, Stephen sold to Benjamin Dutch, sadler, his right and title to the dwelling house Dutch occupied, and the land for £65.

Dutch sold Thomas Norton, tanner, for £140 in 1730, a house and six rods square of land, bounded by Manning and Dutch's other land and the highway. This is the house that now stands in dismal decay just opposite the Parsonage, and it seems to have been built between 1706 and 1730. Even if Dutch acquired only a half interest in the Cross house and five acres of land for £65 in 1706, the increase in value between that and £140 for a house and only thirty-six rods of land, indicates that a new house must have been erected on this site. At Mr. Norton's decease, it became the property of his widow. Subsequently Margaret Norton executed a deed of half of it to her brother, George Norton. Then it belonged to Thomas Appleton, to John Wade, etc.

Returning now to the south of the brook, Nathaniel Rust sold an acre, bounded by the brook and the street, including buildings, tan-yard, etc., to Thomas Norton in March, 1700, and in November of that year Norton married Mercy Rust, daughter of Mr. Nathaniel Rust. Mr. Rust, it will be remembered, was ordered to furnish the gloves for Mr. Cobbett's funeral in 1685.

In 1701, Rust sold his son-in-law the seven acres adjoining the tan-yard lot, and in 1710, he sold Norton and Daniel Ringe, who had married his two daughters, his house and land where the South Church now stands. Norton and Ringe sold out to Ammi Ruhamah Wise in 1723, and I suspect that, at this time, Deacon Norton, as he was then called, built the substantial house that stands to-day in excellent repair, under the great elm tree, and evincing in its interior finish a wealthy builder.

Thomas, the son of the Deacon, a Harvard graduate, and once teacher of the Grammar school, married Mrs. Mary Perkins in 1728, and his father took to wife the widow Mary Rayment of Beverly, 1729.

This double marrying seems to have resulted in the purchase of the Dutch house by the senior Thomas, in the following June, as Thomas Norton, junior, was witness to the signature.

Deacon Norton died in 1744, and Thomas, junior, inherited the estate. Thomas Norton, junior, died in 1750. At his death, his widow was apportioned the "Dutch house" and its thirty-six rods of land. His son Thomas received the homestead, barn, bark-house, old house, Beam house, tan-yard and pits, half the little house, etc. The homestead was appraised at £226, 13, 4. In 1771, Norton sold the whole property to Dunmer Jewett for £240, and in 1791, his widow sold it to the County of Essex "to be improved and used as a House of Correction." The



prison was built near the site of the residence of the late Rhoda B. Potter, and the grounds inclosed with a high red fence. The old mansion was the keeper's residence. Many old people remember it while it served this use.

Despite its fresh appearance, the comfortable house lately owned and occupied by Mrs. Potter, is of venerable age. It was built on the corner now occupied by the Meeting House of the South Parish, and when that edifice was erected in 1837, it was removed to its present location. The well belonging to it remained visible until recently, in the old corridor in the cellar, near the door.

I presume from its interior architecture that the present house is identical with the one owned and occupied by Dr. Samuel Rogers, a prominent citizen, for many years, on the original site. Rogers purchased the property of Daniel Wise, in June, 1750. Wise received it from his father, Major Ammi Ruhamah Wise, son of the celebrated Rev. John Wise of the Chebacco Parish. Major Wise purchased from Daniel Ringe and Thomas Norton, in 1723, who bought the estate of Nathaniel Rust, their father-in-law, in 1710. Rust acquired the property, with a house and barn, on June 2, 1665, by purchase, from Deacon William Goodhue, but I am unable to find the deed of Goodhue's purchase. I presume it was a part of the original Younglove grant. It seems improbable that the house mentioned in the deed of 1665 should have been good enough in 1837 to be removed and repaired. The joint ownership of Ringe and Norton may indicate a double house at that period. It would not be hard to believe that Major Wise built it in the days of his prosperity, but this must be wholly a matter of surmise.

The old Wade mansion was built in 1728 and has always remained in the family. It was inherited by Nathaniel Wade, who served with conspicuous honor in the

Revolutionary War. When Benedict Arnold went over to the British, Washington at once sent an order to Colonel Wade to take command of West Point and hold it, saying "We can trust him." The original military order, bearing Washington's signature is a priceless relic, now in the possession of Mr. Francis H. Wade. An attic room in this house has always been called "Pomp's" room. Pomp was a slave of the olden time, but a very jolly fellow with a gift for doggerel rhyme which was exercised on many occasions. One day, the tradition runs, he came back from town with the astounding news :

" Here is more of old Choate's folly  
He's torn down the old bridge  
And turned out Walley."

The old town bridge was replaced by the stone bridge in 1764, and in the same year Rev. John Walley resigned his pastorate at the South Church. Colonel Choate was so conspicuous a citizen and official that his name is still borne by the bridge. He was very prominent in church affairs as well.

The worthy Thomas Norton, junior, owned a slave Phillis, valued in the inventory at £26, 13s. 4d. These old mansions are filled with weird memories. Pomp and Phillis are mementoes of slave life in our county.

The residence of Mr. F. T. Goodhue is venerable and interesting. Rev. John Rogers, in 1734, deeded his son Samuel, a physician, about half an acre here, described as "all yt part of my homestead or old orchard, lying before the land that was Mr. Francis Crompton's, from the South corner, opposite said Crompton's land by a strait line to ye street or highway, with all building, trees, etc." It hardly seems likely that the house would not have been mentioned specifically if it were then built.

Dr. Rogers sold his dwelling house, land, etc., to John Walley, first pastor of the South Church, and Mr. Walley sold it to his successor, Joseph Dana, in 1766, "excepting the hangings being painted canvass in the Front Room, nearest to the meeting house, as also the hangings in the chamber over said room which, it is mutually agreed, said Joseph Dana shall take down with all convenient speed and deliver to said John Walley at his order."

I should judge from the deeds that Samuel Rogers built the house in 1734 or subsequently.

Old people remember an ancient house, that stood near the corner of the Heard land, facing the east. This was the home of Col. John Choate, Esq., in early days, and was purchased by him of the heirs of Francis Crompton. Crompton bought the land, three acres, without any sure mention of a house in the deed, in 1693. Averill, the earlier owner, was a poor man, if I associate the correct inventory with his name. Crompton probably built the house. It fell into decay and was removed more than fifty years ago.

Before leaving this locality, it may be of interest if we trace the outline of the original Saltonstall property, since it establishes incidentally several interesting facts.

We have mentioned that the Thomas Manning property and the Thomas Norton property included an acre or more of the Saltonstall estate. Benjamin Dutch sold a lot containing thirty square rods, six rods frontage and five rods depth, adjoining Mr. Norton to Joseph Appleton in 1730 for £72. It is styled a "certain piece of upland" and no house was included in the purchase. But Joseph Appleton had a house here some years later, and it is likely that he built it about the time of his purchase. A well near the street in Mr. Theodore Cogswell's vacant corner



lot here may have been Appleton's well. It is interesting to note the fact that, although the deeds mention this house repeatedly, it disappeared so long ago that no remembrance or tradition of its existence has survived. The remainder of the Saltonstall property, four acres less or more, was sold by Benjamin to Nathaniel Dutch, for £150 in 1737. It was bounded on the northeast partly by Rev. Mr. Rogers' land and partly by common land, that is, the old training field; but it embraced quite a portion of the present Common, for the Joseph Appleton lot was bounded by it on the north.

Nathaniel Dutch sold 95 rods in 1733 to William Story, Esq., Isaac Dodge and Samuel Lord, jr., a committee of the First Parish, and Joseph Appleton, Esq., John Baker, Esq., and Isaac Smith, gentleman, a committee of the South Parish, "for the purposes of a burying yard forever." "Beginning at the east corner thereof at a stake in Dutch's line, twelve feet southeast of the southeast corner of said John Baker's homestall," it was bounded thirteen and one-half rods on Baker's land, then seven rods on the west side on Dutch. It was a rectangular lot,  $13\frac{1}{2}$  rods by 7. The remainder of his four acres was mortgaged by Dutch to William McKean (the deeds mention "about five acres") in 1785. McKean acquired possession and sold to Dr. John Manning in 1793.

Manning sold John Wade, a strip of "twenty-one feet deep and as wide as the land he had bought lately of Thomas Appleton" in 1794. In July of that year he sold the town, for £13, 10s., "twenty-two square rods of land lying on the road opposite the house of Col. Nathaniel Wade, beginning four feet from the easterly corner of the house lately owned by Joseph Appleton, Esq., deceased, in front toward the road and extending northerly as the wall now stands to a stake and stones in the training field,

and from thence southeast to the old road, thence on the old bounds on the road to the first bounds mentioned, for the purpose of widening the road for the convenience of the public." It would appear from this that the road was much narrower then than now.

In May, 1795, Dr. Manning sold the two Parishes a piece of land adjoining the burying ground, "beginning one rod and a half from the southeast corner of the old burying place in a right line toward the road, then south four rods, then west 20 rods, then north seven rods, and along the burying ground to the first bound." This gave the burying ground a width of fourteen rods, a depth of thirteen and one-half rods on the Baker line and of twenty rods on the southerly side. A second enlargement was made, not many years ago, when Rev. John Cotton Smith purchased the land of William Kinsman, which has been divided into lots on the south side of the yard. In June, 1795, Manning sold Thomas Baker an acre of land between the burying ground and the river, and in May of that year, he had sold the town for 5s, "from desire of accommodating the Town with a more convenient training field; beginning at the southeast corner of the homestead of the heirs of John Baker, Esq., deceased, thence southeast to land I lately sold the inhabitants of the Town, thence southwest until it comes within four rods and 6 feet of the house formerly owned by Joseph Appleton, Esq., thence west northerly til it strikes the burying ground 23 feet to the north of the southerly corner thereof, thence northeast to the bounds first mentioned, containing about half an acre."

The curious antiquarian can locate these lines with approximate accuracy, and it appears probable, that if the stone wall now separating the burying ground from the Heard estate were prolonged in the direction it runs until

it reached well into the present highway, we should have the northern bound roughly traced of the original Saltonstall grant. The training field and Green were much smaller therefore than to-day.

While this boundary of the Saltonstall estate is fresh in mind, attention may well be given to a claim made by the widow of President John Rogers, who then occupied the estate of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, to land now included in the Common or the public thoroughfare, by virtue of a grant of six acres made by John Winthrop in 1634. In the town record, under date of April 8, 1686, the entry is made :

"Whereas, Mrs. Rogers claimeth part of the land without the line from the gate and stable end, upon a line to the land of Mr. Saltonstall's, and some land in the end of the now orchard before the land of William Ivory's, all this upon the satisfaction of a grant of land to Mr. Winthrop of six acres of land in 1634.

"Voted and granted that, provided that Mrs. Rogers give in to the Selectmen in the Town's behalf, that she and her heirs shall secure the Town from any further demand for satisfaction of said grant from Mr. Winthrop and his heirs and her and her heirs, that then the Town will pay to said Mrs. Rogers within one year the sum of ten pounds in Common pay, and she secure the Town from any claims of herself or her heirs, from the land on the outside of a straight line, from the said gate to Mr. Saltonstall's fence, formerly as the stable end stands, and from all the land on this end of the now orchard covering the length of four rayles as the fence stands upon a square from the paile fence to William Ivory's fence, then the said sum shall be paid by the Town."

The original deed with seals and signatures is in the Town Record, and it provides "that the said land laid



downe shall lie common and be not impropriated by any particular future grant to any person or persons."

Further specification is made in the deed of "a straight line from the fence of Stephen Cross formerly Richard Saltonstall's, Esq., ranging to her gate post, and so stretching the length of four rails beyond the causeway end, and then on a square to the fence of William Averill's."

The meaning must be guessed out for neither Resolution nor Deed is luminous. I have always interpreted this transaction as securing the Town's title to the land bordering on Mr. F. T. Goodhue's property, and some portion of the old training field. One fact is beyond question. Mr. Winthrop's "six acres near the River," granted in 1634, included the whole or part of the fine open meadow belonging to the Heard estate. This belonged to the Rogerses, and Rogers must have purchased from John Winthrop.

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#### THE "WINTHROP HOUSE," SO CALLED.

The name of Winthrop has been associated with the old Burnham house on the Argilla Road, now occupied by Mr. Perley Lakeman, but without reason.

In 1636-7, the town granted George Giddings about 16 acres of land, meadow and upland, having the highway to Chebacco on the northeast. In 1667, Giddings sold Thomas Burnham "my dwelling house, wherein said Thomas now dwelleth" and twelve acres of land, bounded north by Mr. Jonathan Wade's land, west and south by land of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, and east by the highway leading to Chebacco.

Giddings owned no other land on this road, and the bounds given locate it beyond a doubt. Generations of

Burnhams possessed it, until the sale to the present owner a few years since.

There is not a scrap of documentary evidence, known to me, that suggests Winthrop's ownership. As for the house itself, Dr. Lyon, of Hartford, an expert in olden architecture, pronounces it to have been built in the latter part of the seventeenth century or the early years of the following one.

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#### THE HOWARD HOUSE.

Fronting the new stone bridge, on Turkey Shore, is the well preserved "Howard house" as it is sometimes called. Mr. Caldwell in his Notes to the Hammatt papers states that it was owned by Aaron Wallis, half a century ago. Before him Capt. Ebenezer Caldwell, who died in 1821, was its possessor. His first wife was Lucy, daughter of Samuel Ringe. Ringe bought the property of Stephen Howard, who inherited it in 1766 on the death of his father, Samuel Howard. Samuel bought the shares owned by his brothers William and John at his father's, William Howard's, death. To this it may be added, Howard bought six acres of land with the dwelling in 1679 of Uzal Wardell. Susanna Ringe, the wife of Wardell, junior, sold her father-in-law, Uzal Wardell, her third of her father's, Daniel Ringe's estate in 1669. Ringe bought of Thomas Emerson in 1648, a dwelling house and six acres of land by original grant.

Is this house the same that Daniel Ringe bought in 1648? I cannot believe it, though the deeds are continuous. The question of identity, which was stated in the beginning of this series of papers, is well illustrated in this case. The probability of such extreme antiquity is very slight. Judging from its architecture, Dr. Lyon be-

lieves this house was built near the beginning of the last century.

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#### THE HOVEY HOUSE.

The ancient Hovey house, last used as a barn by Mr. Foss, but, unfortunately, now a thing of the past, is generally assumed to have been built in 1668, because Daniel Hovey was granted permission to fell trees "for a house" that year. More pertinent evidence is the grant of the previous year, 1667, to Daniel Hovey, "to fell timber for a ——— and repaying his house." A house that needed repairing in 1667 is not likely to have defied the tooth of Time for two hundred and twenty-seven years longer, and then, still stout and strong, have suffered destruction only by fire.

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#### THE REGINALD FOSTER ESTATE.

The same question of identity confronts us in the fine old mansion, now owned by Mr. Daniel S. Burnham, on Water street. The pedigree of this property is beyond question. Charlotte Burnham, wife of Abraham, purchased half of it in 1862, from Enoch P. Fuller. He bought it of Nathaniel Fuller in 1840. Fuller purchased from Thomas Dodge in 1796, Dodge from John Holland in 1792, Holland from John Harris in 1778. Richard Sutton and Elizabeth, his wife, sold Abner Harris, shipwright, the southwest end of the dwelling house, "late our honored grandfather's, Jacob Foster deceased," in 1758. Jacob Foster, father of this Jacob, I presume, received it from Reginald Foster. Reginald Foster bought of Roger Preston in 1655, a house and land reaching from the present Green street to Summer street.



Again, I cannot believe this house identical with the house of 1655, but make no assertion as to its probable age.

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#### THE NORTON - COBBETT HOUSE.

This fine old mansion, venerable in its architecture, hallowed with its association with the great and good men of the early days, has long been counted the most historic house of Ipswich, and possibly the oldest. An honest desire to establish its antiquity, and confirm its legendary renown, impelled me to very careful study of every document that I could discover. To my own chagrin, the conclusion, to which candor has impelled me, divests the old landmark of all its poetry, and much of its age. A review of the grounds leading to this may not be uninteresting to those that have the love of antiquarian lore.

In the year 1638, Thomas Firman sold Rev. John Norton a house and lot "which said lot was granted first unto Mr. John Fawne in the year 1634," and by him sold to Firman. The boundaries given locate the property unmistakably.

In this house, or a better one of his own building, Mr. Norton dwelt until he resigned his pastorate and removed to Boston as the successor of Rev. John Cotton. His successor, Rev. Mr. Cobbett, occupied his house and eventually purchased it. At his decease, the estate became the property of his widow. In 1696, his son John sold the house and three acres of land for £70 to Major Francis Wainwright, who owned the Robert Payne estate adjoining.

After a few months ownership, Major Wainwright sold to John Annable "Taylor" for £24 — "A house that was formerly in the tenure of John Cobbett, late of Ipswich,

with the land on which said house standeth, and also all the land before the said house to the street, together with four foot breadth from the said house at the western end thereof, and four foot breadth northerly from said house, and four foot easterly from said house, these three points all bounded by said Wainwright's land and southerly by the Highway or Street, the westerly line that comes to said street to take in but half the well, and the easterly line to run straight from four foot of from the said house to the said street." March 9, 1696-7.

Evidently Major Wainwright retained the land that originally belonged with the house, and a few years later he sold to Matthew Perkins, land and the orchard upon it, "bounded by John Baker's land on the East, the Highway on the South, the land of John Annible and said Wainwright on the West, as the old wall formerly stood, the land of Wainwright on the North, as the wall stands, also the common right bought of John Cobbett." October 11, 1701.

The Perkins property thus lay between the old Cobbett house and Baker's.

The Cobbett house with its four feet of land on three sides was sold by Annable to William Stone for £35 with Wainwright on three sides and half of the well, etc. March 16, 1701.

Stone sold his house with one-quarter of an acre to Robert Holmes, tailor, for £40, bounded easterly by Capt. Matthew Perkins, west and north by Wainwright. January 20, 1710-11.

Stone had bought of Wainwright "3 foot in front next ye street joining on the westerly side of the land he bought of John Annable and to run until it comes to nothing at the north corner of said line," for £3, 12s. This he assigned to Holmes on the same date, so that the western

line was now seven feet from the house on the front, and included the whole well.

Robert Holmes sold his son Robert Holmes, junior, taylor, "a certain parcel of land on the South East side of my homestead, beginning at ye easterly corner next Capt. Matthew Perkins his homestead and from there to extend North West 15 feet into my homestead, from thence to run on a straight line keeping equal distance from Perkins's land to ye country road, and up said road Southerly to ye corner of said Perkins's homestead, and by said Perkins's homestead to ye bound first mentioned, as also all my right, title and interest in ye new end of ye dwelling house standing on said bounded premises." February 20, 1732-3.

In accordance with the terms of his father's will Robert Holmes, junior, succeeded to the whole estate at his mother's death. He enlarged the estate by purchasing of Thomas Staniford, innholder, for £3, a small piece of land adjoining the northeast side of the homestead of Robert Holmes, late of Ipswich, deceased, about three rods, bounded south by homestead, southwest and northwest by Staniford, northeast by land of widow Esther Perkins. April 10, 1742.

Administration was granted on the estate of Robert Holmes to Samuel and Abigail Heard, September, 1776.

"Samuel Heard, cordwainer, and Abigail, his wife, being the only child and heir of Robert Holmes, late of Ipswich, Taylor," for £33, 6, 8, sell "Nathaniel March, Taylor, a dwelling house, with small parcel of land under and adjoining, part of the real estate of our honored father, beginning at Southeast corner by land of Abraham Caldwell, thence by said Caldwell's land easterly, 6 rods and 10 feet, thence northerly by land of Capt. Thomas Staniford, one rod, eleven feet and a half, thence westerly on



land of the said Abigail Heard 6 rods 10 feet, and thence southerly one rod,  $9\frac{1}{2}$  feet by Highway, also the privilege of using the well on the other part of deceased real estate." March 1, 1777.

Nathaniel March sold to Nathaniel March, junior, for \$900, the house and fifteen rods of land, bounded southeasterly by Daniel Russell six rods ten feet, northerly by Staniford one rod eleven and one-half feet, westerly by Abigail Heard six rods ten feet, southerly by highway one rod nine and one-half feet, with privilege of using the well on said Abigail's land; Nathaniel and Elizabeth, his wife, to have the privilege of the use of the northwest room of said house, during their natural life. November 21, 1796.

The portion of the Holmes property, which Samuel and Abigail Heard reserved when they sold the house to March, was sold by them to Samuel Heard, junior, and Ebenezer, beginning at the north corner on land of heirs of Staniford on the street, southerly by street one rod nine and one-half feet, to land of Nathaniel March, easterly on March's land six rods ten feet, northerly by Staniford's land one rod seven and one-half feet, westerly on Staniford's land six rods ten feet. May 19, 1803. Samuel, junior, and Ebenezer Heard sold this plot, "part of garden spot formerly owned by Nathaniel March," for \$30 to Elizabeth March. April 8, 1808.

Nathaniel and Hannah March sold to Daniel Russell for \$80 "a certain dwelling house with land under and adjoining containing 15 rods, beginning at the south corner by highway and land of Daniel Russell, thence north west by said highway 1 rod 9 feet and  $\frac{1}{2}$  to land of Elizabeth March, thence northeasterly by Elizabeth's land 6 rods and 10 feet to land of heirs of Thomas Staniford, thence south easterly 1 rod  $11\frac{1}{2}$  feet to land of Russell, southwesterly by land of Russell 6 rods 10 feet to Highway,

being the same I purchased of my late father, Nathaniel March by deed November 21, 1796," and on the same day Elizabeth March sold the garden spot adjoining to Russell for \$40.

Daniel Russell sold his son, Foster Russell, for \$76 "a certain piece or parcel of land situate, lying and being in Ipswich aforesaid, formerly owned by Nathaniel March, deceased, containing 14 rods more or less, beginning at the southerly corner thereof by the highway and my own land, thence running north westerly 38 feet to land owned by the Methodist Society, thence by land of said Society to land of Dr. Thomas Manning, thence south easterly by Manning 36 feet to my own land, thence south westerly by my own land to highway." August 30, 1833.

Thus there is not a link lacking in the chain. From Firman and Norton, we trace the ownership of the house, through Cobbett, Wainwright, Annable, Stone, the Holmeses, and the Marches to Daniel Russell. Russell bought the house and land in 1818. In 1833, he sold the land to Foster Russell, but there is no mention of any house. Evidently it had disappeared.

But what of the old house still standing?

It is well remembered that Richard Sutton owned the southeast half of this dwelling, and Daniel Russell the northwest half. Russell bought his half of Abraham Caldwell of Beverly in 1796, bounded northwesterly partly on land of Nathaniel March, southeasterly on land of Richard Sutton.

Caldwell purchased of Samuel Sawyer in 1772, Robert Holmes abutting on the northwest. Ephraim Kindall bought this half of Jonathan Newmarsh in 1768, who bought of Benjamin Brown in 1762. Brown acquired it in 1754, by purchase, of William Dodge, of Lunenburg, and Esther, his wife, and Samuel Williams, junior.

Dodge's deed recites that the line of division beginning at a stake by land of Robert Holmes, extends to a stake standing in the middle of the homestead of Capt. Matthew Perkins, late of Ipswich, thence southwesterly to a stake, thence northwesterly twenty-two feet through the middle of the curb of the well to a stake standing near, thence southwesterly through the dwelling house and middle of the chimney to the street, with one-half the dwelling, with all privileges, etc., settled by a Commission appointed and empowered by the Court of Probate to divide the estate of said Matthew Perkins to and among his two daughters, Esther Harbin and Mary Smith, according to his will. Williams sold the interest he bought of William Harbin.

Among the filed papers relating to the estate of Capt. Matthew Perkins, we find the divisions of the real estate between Esther Harbin and Mary Smith in 1749. Esther received the northwest half, the division line being defined word by word as in the deed of Dodge to Brown. Mary received the southeast half. Esther left her estate to her four children to whom it was apportioned in 1752. Her heirs sold to Brown.

Capt. Matthew Perkins, we observed at the beginning, bought the Norton-Cobbett orchard in 1701. Between that date and 1709, he built the house, for in the latter year he gave his son Matthew his former homestead, lower down the street.

The present old house is, therefore, Capt. Matthew Perkins' mansion, and the Norton-Cobbett house stood very near on the northwest side, but has long since disappeared.

Every item of evidence corroborates this identification. The successive deeds of the old Cobbett property mention Captain Matthew, the widow Esther Perkins, Abra-



Sam Caldwell and Daniel Russell as eastern abutters. The deeds of the present house mention Holmes and March as western neighbors. The well of the present house is precisely where the deeds locate it; the Cobbett well was on the west side of the house. This house stands near the road; the other must have stood back somewhat, as the land covered by the house with only four feet on each of three sides and the frontage measured about a quarter of an acre.

The present Foster Russell house, by the measurements of the deeds, occupies a part of the site of the old one. Finally, Mrs. Susan Lakeman, the daughter of the late Daniel Russell, was born in the Perkins' mansion in 1815. She remembers distinctly that it was always said that her father tore down an old house close by in 1818, called "the March house." In that year he bought the property of Nathaniel March.

As to the old Cobbett well, it is beyond question identical with the well that still remains in the cellar of the Foster Russell house, which served as a public watering place for many years, I am informed, before the house was built, and still supplies Mr. Augustine Spiller by a pipe that pierces the cellar wall.

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#### THE JOHN POTTER HOUSE.

The well-preserved old mansion beneath the spreading elms on the corner of East street and "Hog Lane," as the ancient nickname was,—"Brooke Street" as it is recorded in the old deeds,—is of much interest.

This lot was owned in 1648 by Francis Jordan, the town-whipper, whose gruesome business it was to wield the lash and lay it smartly upon the backs of evil-doers,

at the public whipping-post. In 1655, there was a house here, occupied by Jeffrey Skelling or Snelling, a man of questionable character, who tasted the lash more than once. I can hardly believe that a man of his proclivities was likely to occupy so fine a house.

Richard Belcher of Charlestown sold, to John Potter, for £88, in 1708, the two acres in this corner, with all the buildings, including the "old house, new out-houses, etc." The mention of an "old house" at this date renders it very improbable that the present building was then in existence.

A few years ago, the slope of the hill on the east side of the present house was dug away, and an old cellar was disclosed. Two old spoons of a style in vogue prior to 1700 were found. Very likely this was the site of the old Francis Jordan property, and John Potter probably built the present mansion subsequent to 1708.

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#### SOME OLD HIGH-STREET DWELLINGS.

A few more old mansions, on High street, must not be overlooked. Here again that question of identity disturbs us in the case of the old Caldwell house.

Richard Betts sold to Cornelius Waldo, for £30, his dwelling house, land, etc., in 1652. Waldo sold the same property to John Caldwell, in 1654 for £26. John Caldwell's estate, about the year 1692, was inventoried, the house, land at home and three acres of other land at £109. This three-acre lot is probably identical with the "four acres, be it more or less, within the Common fields, neare unto Muddy River," which he bought of William Buckley, and which Buckley had bought for £7 of Thomas Manning in 1657. The homestead was valued, then, at

about a hundred pounds sterling. Caldwell bought it for £26, occupied it some forty years, and left it worth £100. It has been said that record remains of enlargement, etc., but repairs and enlargement sufficient to enhance the value nearly four times must have been very destructive of the original Waldo house, I fear. It is more likely that Caldwell built the present house, and its architecture points to the latter years of the seventeenth century as the time of its erection.

The fine mansion, lately purchased and improved by Mr. John B. Brown, is the colonial home Rev. Nathaniel Rogers built for himself in 1727-8.

The very old house, the home of Mr. Caleb Lord, until his death, and its larger neighbor, the old Jacob Manning house, afford a very fascinating study. Mr. Lord informed me that this house was owned by his father, "Capt. Nat.," and his predecessor was "Deacon Caleb." Caleb Lord, Hatter, and Daniel Low, bought it with eighteen rods of land in 1751, of Job Harris. Harris bought the dwelling, barn, and two and three-fourths acres of land of Rev. Jabez Fitch, when he left the pastorate of the Ipswich First Church in 1727 and went to Portsmouth. There was at this time but one dwelling on this goodly lot of nearly three acres. Harris sold Caleb Lord the house, etc., "at the north corner of the homestead," but he resided still in another house on the same lot and, in 1770, bequeathed his son John the southerly half of his dwelling. The other heirs sold out to John in 1772. John Harris sold to the town, in 1795, about two acres with the buildings. This purchase was made to secure a Poor-house, and considerable changes were made then and later to fit it for its new use. Mr. Caleb Lord remembers that the door was on the end toward the street.

When the town purchased the present Poor Farm, this property was sold to Jacob Manning, jr., in May, 1818.



The deed describes it, as the work-house and land, "beginning at the corner of Nathaniel Lord's land, 12 feet 1 inch from his shop, on said High street East to land of heirs of James Harris deceased, Westerly 5 rods 12½ links to land this day conveyed to Lord, *i. e.* wood house and turf or peat house, and the pump with the rigging and gear thereto belonging, also reserving to John Lord 4th, liberty to remove the building called the pest house and chimney and underpinning stones."

This is the large house on the south corner of Manning street. I think that Job Harris built it for his new residence and then sold the older Fitch house to Caleb Lord. This surmise is confirmed by the purchase that Mr. Fitch made of about four rods of land on the back side of his house from Francis Young in 1708. It was a piece one rod wide from the land or house of Mr. Fitch, and extended in a straight line one rod broad to the northerly end of his barn or woodhouse. This shows that the Fitch house occupied the extreme corner of the lot. This land may have been needed for the enlargement that has been made on this side. Mr. Fitch bought the house with an acre and a half of land of William Payne and his wife Mary, the only daughter of William Stewart, deceased, in the year 1704, for £150. In 1719, he enlarged the lot by purchasing an acre of Thomas and Alexander Lovell fronting on the street and joining his land on the south.

Stewart bought of Roger Derby, who had removed to Salem in 1692. Derby or Darby bought a house and two acres of Philip Fowler in 1672, and in 1652 John Hassell owned a house here. Hassell was the original grantee. Again the query arises, who was the builder of the present decrepit dwelling? Certainly it was owned by Job Harris and there is no reason for doubting Fitch's ownership, or even Stewart's. Beyond Stewart, or possibly Derby, I

do not venture, but there is no absolute limit, save that it is incredible that it was Hassell's original house.

I wonder if Stewart occupied this house before he bought it? If he did, peculiar interest attaches to the narrative of John Dunton, a book pedler, who visited Ipswich, in the course of his saddle-bag peregrinations, in 1685 or 1686. In any event, the gossipy description of the Stewarts will not be unwelcome. Dunton wrote to his wife, minutely enough to satisfy her womanly curiosity, after this fashion :

"My Landlady, Mrs. Wilkins, having a sister at Ipswich which she had not seen for a great while, Mrs. Comfort, her daughter (a young gentlewoman equally happy in the perfections both of her body and mind), had a great desire to see her aunt, having never been at her house, nor in that part of the country; which Philaret having a desire to see, and being never backward to accomodate the Fair Sex, profers his service to wait upon her thither, which was readily accepted by the young lady, who felt herself safe under his protection. Nor were her parents less willing to trust her with him. All things being ready for our ramble, I took my fair one up behind me and rid on our way, I and my Fair Fellow Traveller to Mr. Steward's whose wife was Mrs. Comfort's own Aunt: whose Joy to see her Niece at Ipswich was sufficiently Expressed by the Noble Reception we met with and the Treatment we found there; which far outdid whate'er we cou'd have thought. And tho myself was but a stranger to them, yet the extraordinary civility and respect they shewed me, gave me reason enough to think I was very welcome. It was late when we came thither, and we were both very weary, which yet would not excuse us from the trouble of a very splendid supper, before I was permitted to go to bed; which was got ready



in so short a time as would have made us think, had we not known the contrary, that it had been ready provided against we came. Though our supper was extraordinary yet I had so great a desire to go to bed, as made it to me a troublesome piece of kindness. But this being happily over, I took my leave of my Fellow Traveller, and was conducted to my apartment by Mrs. Stewart herself, whose character I shant attempt to-night, being so weary, but reserve till to-morrow morning. Only I must let you know that my apartment was so noble and the furniture so suitable to it, that I doubt not but even the King himself has oftentimes been contented with a worser lodging.

"Having reposed my self all night upon a bed of Down, I slept so very soundly that the Sun, who lay not on so soft a bed as I, had got the start of me, and risen before me; but was so kind however as to make me one of his first visits, and to give me the BON JOUR; on which I straight got up and dressed myself, having a mind to look about me and see where I was: and having took a view of Ipswich, I found it to be situated by a river, whose first rise from a Lake or Pond was twenty miles up, breaking of its course through a hideous swamp for many miles, a a harbor for bears; it issueth forth into a large bay, where they fish for whales, due East over against the Island of Sholes, a great place for fishing. The mouth of that river is barred. It is a good haven town. Their Meeting House or church is built very beautifully. There is a store of orchards and gardens about it, and good land for Cattel and husbandry.

"But I remember I promised to give you Mrs. Stewards Character, & if I hadn't yet gratitude and justice would exact it of me. Her stature is of a middle size, fit for a woman. Her face is still the magazine of beauty, whence she may fetch artillery enough to Wound a thousand lov-



ers ; and when she was about 18, perhaps there never was a face more sweet and charming — nor could it well be otherwise, since now at 33, all you call sweet and ravishing is in her Face ; which it is as great a Pleasure to behold as a perpetual sunshine without any clouds at all ; and yet all this sweetness is joined with such attractive vertue as draws all to a certain distance and there detains them with reverence and admiration, none ever daring to approach her nigher, or having power to go farther off. She's so obliging, courteous and civil as if those qualities were only born with her, and rested in her bosom as their centre. Her speech and her Behaviour is so gentle, sweet and affable, that whatsoever men may talk of magick there in none charms but she. So good a wife she is, she frames her nature to her husband's : the hyacinth follows not the Sun more willingly, than she her husband's pleasure. Her household is her charge. Her care to that makes her but seldom a non-resident. Her pride is to be neat and cleanly, and her thirst not to be Prodigal. And to conclude is both wise and religious, which makes her all I have said before.

"In the next place I suppose yourself will think it reasonable that unto Mrs. Stewards I should add her husband's Character : whose worth and goodness do well merit. As to his stature tis inclining to tall : and as to his aspect, if all the lineaments of a sincere and honest hearted man were lost out of the world, they might be all retrieved by looking on his face. He's one whose bounty is limited by reason, not by ostentation ; and to make it last he deals discreetly ; as we sowe our land not by the sack but by the handful. He is so sincere and upright that his word and his meaning never shake hands and part, but always go together. His mind is always so serene that that thunder but rocks him asleep which breaks other men's

slumbers. His thoughts have an aim as high as heaven, tho their residence be in the Valley of an humble heart. He is not much given to talk, tho he knows how to do it as well as any man. He loves his friend, and will do anything for him except it be to wink at his faults, of which he will be always a severe reprovcr. He is so good a husband that he is worthy of the wife he enjoys, and would even make a bad wife good by his example.

"Ipswich is a country town not very large, and when a stranger arrives, tis quickly known to every one. It is no wonder then that the next day after our arrival the news of it was carried to Mr. Hubbard, the Minister of the town, who hearing that I was the person that had brought over a great Venture of Learning, did me the honor of making me a visit at Mr. Steward's, where I lay, and afterwards kindly invited me and my fellow traveller to his own house, where he was pleased to give us very handsome entertainment. His writing of the History of Indian Warrs shews him to be a person of good parts and understanding. He is a sober, grave and well accomplished man—a good preacher (as all the town affirm, for I didn't hear him) and one that lives according to his preaching.

"The next day I was for another Ramble in which Mr. Steward was pleas'd to accompany me. And the place we went to was a town call'd Rowley, lying six miles North-East from Ipswich, where most of the Inhabitants had been Clothiers. There was that Day a great Game of Foot Ball to be playd, which was the occasion of our going thither: There was another Town that playd against them, as is sometimes Common in England: but they played with their bare feet which I thought was very odd: but was upon a broad Sandy Shoar free from Stones, which made it more easie. Neither were they so apt to trip up



one anothers heels, and quarrel as I have seen em in England."

With this bit of romance, I conclude my present study of the old houses of Ipswich. Many more remain to be investigated, and unsuspected rewards may await the diligent student. In due time I hope every old dwelling will have its history carefully written.

My aim has been not so much to exhaust the field, for this is impossible, nor to pronounce final judgments, as to illustrate the only sure way of approximating the truth. The work must be done cautiously and candidly, with a mind open to the truth, however sharp the conflict with cherished traditions or deeply seated prejudices. Resort must always be made to original documents. Regard must be had to inherent probabilities. Results obtained by the application of this method may fairly be considered a contribution to the permanent history of our town.

The conclusion to which we must come is that many houses are not as old as they have been thought; that many substantial houses have passed away; that the history of one house is very easily transferred to another; that tradition is very unhistoric; that definite decision is impossible in many cases; but that, after all allowance is made, a remarkable number of ancient dwellings, still in use, were built in the earlier half of the last century, and a few remain from the closing decades of the seventeenth century, which were built before all the pioneers who knew Winthrop, and cleared the wilderness and built the town, had passed away.



# ARNOLD'S MARCH FROM CAMBRIDGE TO QUEBEC.

BY EZRA DODGE HINES.

"The hearts that beat one hundred years ago  
Were players in a mighty symphony;  
Each heard its separate part, no more : while we,  
Who hear the solemn measures swell and flow  
Confined in one majestic hymn, bestow  
Upon the whole the name of history."

IN Salem, on Friday, June 17, 1774, the session of the General Court is drawing to a close. Before the day is done, and the work is finished, Samuel Adams, that staunch patriot, has at last succeeded in securing the election of delegates to attend the meeting of the First Continental Congress, to be held in Philadelphia in September, 1774. One of the delegates thus chosen was John Adams, who

EDITORIAL NOTE.—There are local traditions connected with this famous march which would well repay the labor of tracing out. It has always been said that Arnold dined with a friend in Salem on his way east. He seems to have left Cambridge about a day behind the last division of his troops. Naturally the main body would not march through Salem on account of the serious obstruction offered to the movement of a body of troops by the Beverly Ferry. But the General, with members of his staff, might very well have done so, for Arnold had friends in Salem. The Marquis de Chastellux records passing the ferry from Beverly to Salem in 1782 "in two flat-bottomed boats containing each six horses" (E. I. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXX, pp. 64-5) and Felt (Annals of Salem, Vol. II, p. 520) says that "a detachment of Arnold's force, destined to Canada, took dinner at Salem, September 14."

The first battalion which moved out from the camp at Cambridge on the afternoon of Wednesday, September 13, marched through Malden and Lynn, and bivouacked, the second night, in Upper Beverly. And it is thought probable that the open plain to the west of the Meeting House, the Chipman Parsonage, and the Baker Tavern, was the spot selected. The second battalion left Cambridge on the morning of Thursday and halted for the night at Danvers. A level tract to the east of, and just off Danvers Square has been pointed out by tradition as their camping ground. With the growing activity of our day in antiquarian research, it is not unlikely that private letters and journals may come to light which will locate these interesting events beyond a peradventure. The press of the last century, with its provoking reticence in matters of detail, offers little assistance. If our modern newspapers could borrow a little of this reticence and lend to the earlier chroniclers something of the superabundant loquacity of our times, a happy mean would seem to be established.

afterwards became the second President of the United States. Three days later, John Adams, on his journey from Boston to Ipswich, where he goes to attend Court, tarries in Danvers. He remains there over night in an inn or ordinary kept by one John Piemont, which stood upon Danvers square.

Adams, before he retired for the night, wrote in his diary the following words — words which, his biographer says, are the first that we have from him, in relation to his feelings about his election as a delegate to the coming Continental convention. He wrote as follows :

“ MONDAY, June 20, 1774.

At Piemont's in Danvers, bound for Ipswich. There is a new and grand scene open before me; a Congress. This will be an assembly of the wisest men upon the continent, who are Americans in principle, that is, against taxation of Americans by authority of Parliament I feel myself unequal to this business. A more extensive knowledge of the realm, the colonies, and of commerce, as well as of law and policy, is necessary, than I am master of. What can be done? Will it be expedient to propose an annual Congress of committees? to petition? Will it do to petition at all? — to the King? — to the Lords? — to the Commons? What will such consultations avail? Deliberations alone will not do. We must petition or recommend to the Assemblies to petition, or, — [and here is a pause, — afterwards he adds] The ideas of the people are as various as their faces. One thinks. no more petitions, — former having been neglected and despised; some are for resolves, spirited resolves, and some are for bolder counsels.

I will keep an exact diary of my journey, as well as a journal of the proceedings of Congress.”

These were bold, brave words, suggestive of the hour; written by a man who was destined, so soon, to stand as a bright and shining light, in the troublous times then so near at hand.

When the time came, John Adams was on hand and attended the convention in Philadelphia, where he performed excellent service for his country. He was after-



wards elected a delegate to the second Continental Congress, held in Philadelphia, May, 1775, and while attending this Congress he, on June 14, 1775, performed a very signal service for his country. Discussing the question respecting the army in Cambridge then besieging the British troops in Boston, he made a motion, "that Congress would adopt the Army at Cambridge, and appoint a General or Commander-in-chief; that though this was not the proper time to nominate a General, yet he had no hesitation to declare, that he had but one gentleman in his mind for that important command, and that was a gentleman from Virginia, who was among us, and very well known to all of us, a gentleman whose skill and experience as an officer, whose independent fortune, great talents, and excellent universal character, would command the approbation of all America, and unite the cordial exertions of all the colonies, better than any other person in the Union." There was no mistaking whom Adams meant. All eyes were immediately turned upon Washington who, in his modesty, retired to the Library. On the next day, June 15, 1775, George Washington was chosen by ballot, unanimously, by the Continental Congress, to be General and Commander-in-chief of the American army. Wise men! Wise choice! On the assembling of Congress the next morning the President, John Hancock, informed Washington officially of his appointment. The acceptance of the same by Washington was in brief words, but throughout full of modesty and humility, showing that he desired to do his duty faithfully and well, but at the same time fearing the responsibility thus laid upon him to be too great. Events which followed show that the choice of the Congress was a wise one.

Washington's commission as General and Commander-in-chief was dated June 19, 1775, two days after the



Battle of Bunker Hill, and soon after he departed for Cambridge, where he arrived July 2, 1775. The next day, July 3, under the "Great Elm" near Cambridge common, which is still standing, and now known as the "Washington Elm," General Washington, in brief but well chosen words, took formal command of the American army. The battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill had been fought. The cause of Massachusetts had become the common cause of all the colonies, and troops were now hastening to Cambridge from all parts of the country. Soon various plans and projects were proposed, and among others, "The Expedition to Quebec," or "The March of Arnold from Cambridge to Quebec."

To understand better what is to follow, the condition of Canada, in 1775, should be stated.

Canada, like the other American colonies, was, at this time, under British rule. With the exception of a few years, Canada had, previous to 1759, been under French rule; but, since 1759, when the English conquered Canada, it had been an English colony. In so far Canada was not unlike the American colonies on the south. Since the English had come into possession of Canada there had been a great deal of discontent and dissatisfaction. Most of the inhabitants, especially of that portion which is now called Quebec, were French people. It was of course obnoxious to them to be subjected to English rule. There were, however, Englishmen among them but their number was small in comparison with the large number of inhabitants. After the conquest, the Canadians were placed at first under military rule, and governed by English laws. Now, in 1774, the wise heads in the English government, seeing with alarm the results which attended the severe, unjust and unrighteous laws inflicted by them upon the American colonies to the south of Canada,

and fearing that Canada might be induced to join them, and if so, that then English rule in America would be lost forever,—decided that something must be done to satisfy and please the Canadians, and thus keep them on good terms with the Home Government. The result of all this was the passage of the "Quebec Act," which was a very significant act. It gave to the Canadians, among other things,—representation,—the very thing that the other colonies had desired for so long a time.

The act provided "that Canadian subjects professing the Catholic faith might be called to sit in the Council; that the Catholic clergy with the exception of the regular orders should be secured in the enjoyments of their professions, and of their tithes from all those who professed their religion;" and there were also other provisions. It will readily be seen in this Act, there is quite an advance for the Canadians from military rule, and while all may not be statesmen, yet the ordinarily intelligent man, knowing the facts, cannot fail to see in all this, that no great love for the Canadians prompted the Act, but rather the necessity existing of something being done, and that something quickly, so that the English might be able to hold the Canadians, and especially Quebec, the "Gibraltar" of the new world. The Englishmen in Canada were bitter and indignant that the Home Government should pass such an Act and they, with many of the Indian tribes, were very friendly to the American colonies.

It is seen that in September, 1775, there was a kindly feeling shown to the American colonies by many of the Canadians; more than this, the country was not very well guarded, many of the troops having been sent to Boston. There were also great military stores in Quebec. There was a strong feeling that the Canadians were many of them in sympathy with the colonies and would join with them against the English.



## CAUSE OF THE EXPEDITION.

In 1775, after the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, Congress had conceived the idea of obtaining possession of Canada, and thus uniting the whole continent in opposition to Great Britain. This plan was presented to Congress by Benedict Arnold and others, and after Washington took command of the army, he was strongly impressed with the advisability of such a movement, and General Schuyler had already been selected to lead an army into Canada by way of the Northern lakes. Benedict Arnold now proposed that an expedition should start from Cambridge, go to Newburyport, embark there for the mouth of the Kennebec, proceed through the wilderness of Maine, then over the Canadian country to Quebec, and capture that city by surprise.

Congress also sent a committee to General Washington, to confer with him in relation thereto.

## TROOPS COMPOSING THE EXPEDITION.

Sept. 8, 1775, the following order was issued by the Commander-in-chief.

“The detachment going under the command of Col. Arnold to be forthwith taken off the roll of duty, and to march this evening to Cambridge Common, where tents and everything necessary are provided for their reception. The rifle company at Roxbury, and those from Prospect Hill, to march early to-morrow morning to join the above detachment. Such officers and men as are taken from General Green's brigade, for the above detachment, are to attend the muster of their respective regiments to-morrow morning at 7 o'clk., upon Prospect Hill; when the muster is finished, they are forthwith to rejoin the detachment at Cambridge.”

The troops were arranged in two battalions and were commanded respectively by Lt. Col. Christopher Greene, of Rhode Island, and Lt. Col. Roger Enos, of Connecticut.



The first battalion had seven companies, and the second six companies. There was one surgeon and one chaplain for both battalions, and the whole detachment was under the command of Col. Benedict Arnold.

#### DEPARTURE OF THE FIRST BATTALION FROM CAMBRIDGE.

On the afternoon of Wednesday, Sept. 13, 1775, there is a commotion near Cambridge common. The first part of this little army is about to start upon its march. It is to be a long, a fearful, and a perilous journey, but it is well they know not what is before them. Had they known, it would have made their stout hearts quail. They do not know and so they start off with light hearts and cheerful steps. They soon cross the old bridge over the Mystic river, after passing from Cambridge through Charlestown and, journeying along the old road in Medford, finally reach Malden in the early evening. Here they find a convenient spot, and spreading their white tents encamp for the night. On the morrow they resume their march, continuing along the old Boston road, and before noon reach Lynn. Realizing the importance of the undertaking that these men have entered upon, it is desired that the readers of this story become acquainted with them, and so by word-illustrations, they will be presented as they make a short halt in their march.

Marching down the side of the troops, as they have halted, will be seen a man, who, the moment the eye rests upon him, will be recognized as a brave fellow. It is Christopher Greene. He is a Rhode Island man, who, previous to entering the army, was a farmer. By his looks it is seen that he is a very intelligent man. He has had the confidence of his fellow-citizens in a remarkable degree. He is one of the many men who took a bold

stand against the King, and his counsel tended to encourage measures for military defence. Early in 1775 he is commissioned captain in a regiment organized by the General Assembly for the Continental service. He marches to Cambridge, and here is selected as lieutenant-colonel, and placed in command of this portion of Arnold's army, and now is *en route* for Quebec. He is a man of sterling worth.

Yonder is seen an officer conversing very earnestly with some of the patriots gathered about him. His name is Timothy Bigelow. He is from Worcester, Mass. He is the major of this detachment. See him as he moves about—a very noticeable personage. He is very tall, more than six feet in height, and of fine personal appearance. It will be observed that his bearing is erect and martial, and his step most graceful.

In early life a blacksmith, at the outbreak of the Revolution he is in command of a company of minute men. Before the Revolution, he was a member of the Whig club which met in Boston, and was the associate of Warren and Otis. He commands a company in Col. Jona. Ward's regiment. Under his unwearied instruction the company attain such excellence in military exercises as to draw from Washington on the first review: "This is discipline indeed!" He possesses a vigorous intellect, ardent temperament, and a warm and generous heart. Look at him again and again. Remember him in the future.

Look, now! and behold a rifle company under command of Capt. Matthew Smith. This company have come all the way from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, to do service for their country; they are picked men—all large fellows—six-footers. See how they are dressed! Each man has a rifle barrell'd gun, a tomahawk, or small axe, and a long knife, usually called a scalping knife, which serves

for all purposes in the woods. His under dress — by no means in a military style — is covered by a deep ash-colored hunting shirt, leggins and moccasins, if the latter could be procured. A savage dress, indeed! Such men would naturally carry terror with them. It will be observed that the captain of this company, Captain Smith, is a good-looking fellow and has the air of a soldier but, as we listen, he is found to be quite illiterate and very talkative. One cannot fail, however, in glancing at him, to be impressed with this fact — that he is a man who, if occasion require, will be a brave fellow; and in his company, walking about, are noticed certain men, who answer in the roll call to these names: James Crouch, Richard Dixon, Robert McClure, Lt. Archibald Steele, Lt. Michael Simpson, John Joseph Henry, John Harris, whose father was the founder of Harrisburg, John Shaeffer the drummer, and Sergeants Thomas Boyd, Robert Cunningham, and Robert Dixon, and privates John Tidd and John McKonkey. They will be heard from again.

Not far from this company is another company of riflemen coming also from Pennsylvania (Cumberland County). Their dress, it will be seen, is like that of the company just described; it will be noticed that an officer is moving about among his men conversing pleasantly with them. He is their beloved Capt. Wm. Hendricks. One is attracted to him at once. One has to look up he is so tall, but in so doing the eyes look upon a man of mild and beautiful countenance, behind which it is felt is a soul animated by a genuine spark of heroism.

Go down the line still farther and here will be found a Rhode Island man with his company, — Capt. Samuel Ward. He relates that when hostilities commenced he was just out of college, that he joined the Rhode Island army of observation and was appointed captain. He



soon left for Cambridge. His youth surprises — no wonder — he is the youngest officer in the expedition.

Next in line is Captain John Topham, also a Rhode Islander, with his company. Hearing the news of the Battle of Lexington he raises a company and marches to Cambridge; and here he is with his company bound for Quebec.

Here also, as one goes about, will be noticed three other companies commanded respectively by Captains McCobb, Jonas Hubbard, a Worcester man, and Captain Simeon Thayer. These three companies with those previously described make up the first battalion of Arnold's detachment, which battalion having halted for a brief time, the command is given to resume their march — the drums beat, the fifes play, and they move on, passing over the road to Danvers, and at nightfall reach Beverly, where they halt and encamp for the night. Friday, this battalion marches on through Wenham, Ipswich, Rowley and Newbury, reaching Newburyport in the evening.

Not long after this first battalion of troops has passed, the sound of music is again heard, and the remainder or second battalion of Arnold's army — its rear guard — is in sight. Watch them as they pass along in their haste to overtake those gone before them, their companions in this new and untried march.

Marching at their head is noticed their lieutenant colonel, Roger Enos, a man of fine presence; he is from Connecticut, and has seen service in the French war. He served as a captain in Israel Putnam's regiment in 1764. Notice the major with these troops as he passes by. He also is a native of Connecticut. He has always been a military man; is just the man to undertake this march. It will be interesting to know something about him.

Return Jonathan Meigs. His name was given him by

his father, — surely nothing strange in that. Eminently proper when the story is told. His father when a young man, like many another young man before and since, went a-courting. He paid his attentions to a fair Quakeress, but was unsuccessful and she repeatedly rejected him, saying, "Nay, Jonathan, I respect thee much but cannot marry thee." But, on his last visit, as he slowly mounted his horse, the relenting lady beckoned to him to stop, saying, "Return Jonathan! Return Jonathan!" These, the happiest words he had ever heard, he gave as a name to his first-born son. Although named Return, there is no return about him when once started on a mission. His face is set towards the north, — towards Quebec. He means to reach the goal.

Look! now, another rifle company is passing rapidly along; this time not from Pennsylvania but from farther south, from Virginia — from the valley of the Shenandoah. How suggestive the name! Just observe their captain, that remarkable specimen of a man, Daniel Morgan; of whom Henry says, "he was a large, strong bodied personage, whose appearance gave the idea history has left us of Belisarius — kind in manners and, where attached, truly affectionate." He is six feet high and a man of great strength. It is said no man performed more efficient service in the Revolution than Morgan. This man was a teamster in Braddock's army and, for some offence committed against a British officer, was condemned to receive five hundred lashes, although he always jocosely affirmed the drummer miscounted and gave him but four hundred and ninety-nine. One can see by his looks that he is a very daring man. He bears upon his person the effects of encounters with the Indians. After leaving the army he settled down as a farmer, and was rapidly acquiring property when the Revolution broke out.



He hears of the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, and no longer can he remain in his Virginia home. He immediately sets about to raise a rifle company and to depart for the scene of war; and, in less than a week afterwards, he had his company complete, and was on the march to Cambridge. In battle he was a fearful man, and fought desperately; his men loved him, and their affection was his reliance.

With him of course, are his riflemen. Mark them as they pass along. They are the famed corps from the Shenandoah valley and the mountains round about. It is said that the drum and fife, and even the sergeant's hard dollars on the drum head would not have enlisted a man of his corps. It was like the devotion of a Highland clan to its chief — Morgan was the chief. When Morgan cried "come, boys! who's for the camp at Cambridge?" the mountaineers turned out to a man. With blankets buckled to their backs, their baggage, a supply of food in their pouches, scanty as the aborigines would take for a long march — they grasped their rifles and strode away to the north, a band of young giants for the combat of liberty.

The dress of these riflemen was somewhat different from that of the Pennsylvania riflemen, — take notice as they pass along.

White or brown linen hunting shirt, ornamented with a fringe and secured by a belt of wampum in which a knife or tomahawk is stuck; leggins and moccasins ornamented in Indian fashion with beads and brilliantly-dyed porcupine quills. On the part of their shirts covering the breast are the words of Henry, "Liberty or Death." A round hat completes their costume which, it must be conceded, is to say the least warlike and at the same time picturesque. Quite a sight for the people of those days!

This is the Captain Morgan, and this the rifle company,



whom Washington met as he rode about Cambridge to inspect the intrenchments. Morgan saluted his commander-in-chief with the warm words, "From the right bank of the Potomac, General!" "From the Potomac! then they are my old neighbors." He must shake hands with them, and the brave Washington dismounts, goes along the lines and, with tears upon his cheeks, shakes hands with the hardy huntsmen of the Shenandoah.

Following, in quick succession, are the companies commanded respectively by Captains Henry Dearborn, Merchant, Williams, Goodrich and Scott. Dearborn was a noted fellow both before and afterwards.

There is a volunteer for this expedition who in marching by claims one's attention. Who can he be, this young man, a mere stripling, only nineteen years of age? He is a grandson of the great theologian Jonathan Edwards; he is destined when a man to be a Vice President of the nation which is to be. He is none other than Aaron Burr — the gay, the handsome, the rollicking young Burr.

At the time of the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, he was at Litchfield, Conn., studying law. The drums aroused him. He writes to his college friend Ogden, urging him to come quickly to Litchfield, and start with him for the seat of war. Ogden replied he could not at present, but while waiting for Ogden came the news of the Battle of Bunker Hill. Burr could wait no longer, and mounting his horse he rode in haste to Elizabethtown where he aided Ogden, and together they made their way to the camp at Cambridge. After a while in camp he is very sick with fever. One day tossing in his bed he overheard Ogden and the others talking in the next room concerning this expedition. He immediately sat up in bed, and declared his intention to join in the march. Ogden and his friends remonstrated, but Burr, feeble as he was,

began to dress himself. His comrades stood aghast at his actions. But no argument, no persuasion, could move him, when his mind was made up. Go he would — go he did (and here he is in Lynn on his way to Quebec). We shall hear from him again later on. With him in the procession as it moves along will be noticed Ogden and also Rev. Samuel Spring, the chaplain of this army, both of whom had been in college with Burr.

This second battalion follow along in the wake of the first; encamp Thursday night in Danvers, Friday night in Newbury, reaching Newburyport Saturday morning.

And now let us change the scene. We are in Cambridge-town. We observe two men in very earnest conversation. Are they recognized? One of them is surely known. He is the commander-in-chief of America's braves, the beloved Washington; and the other, a short handsome man, of a florid complexion. One must by this time have anticipated who he is. It is the most important man of all in this expedition to Quebec, — Benedict Arnold. Would that we might hear Washington give him his instructions concerning this great undertaking which he has chosen him to command. Washington has the greatest confidence in Colonel Arnold, and feels that he is intrusting him with a mission which he hopes and believes will be of the most important service to the colonies. But now the hour has come for parting. There is no record of just what was said, but it requires but little imagination to believe that, as the great chief looked into the face of Arnold, it must have occurred to him, that ere they should clasp hands again, great events would happen; and with sad, yet tender feelings, feelings of hope and courage, he must have said good-bye and wished him success in what he considered would be a momentous undertaking. 'Tis over, now, and Arnold on the morning of Friday,

Sept. 15th, mounts his horse, a fine one too,—for he knows a good horse, and does he not well know how “to turn and wind a fiery Pegasus, and witch the world with noble horsemanship?”—and with his aids hastens to Newburyport, whither his troops have preceded him.

The troops remain in Newburyport three or four days. Sunday, the 17th, many of them attend church services in the Old South Presbyterian Church, still standing. The chaplain of the expedition, Rev. Samuel Spring, discourses to them from the text: “Except thy presence go with us, carry us not up hence.” Burr afterwards spoke of this sermon, with high commendation.

Tuesday morning, Sept. 19th, the whole detachment leave Newburyport on ten transports, and in the early afternoon sail for the mouth of the Kennebec. While the transports containing the troops are sailing along the coast, and before they reach the Kennebec river, an episode must be related concerning Burr, which happened while he was at Newburyport.

Timothy Edwards, his uncle and his guardian (for Burr it must be remembered is a minor), is greatly exercised over Burr's departure; so much so, that he despatches a messenger to Newburyport with orders to bring him back—peacefully if he can, forcibly if he must. He finds Burr, and hands him a letter from his uncle, which commands his return. Reading it, he looks coolly up at the messenger, and asks the following characteristic question:

“Suppose I refuse to go, how do you expect to take me back? If you were to attempt it by force, I would have you hung up in ten minutes.” The messenger looks frightened—but he has his lesson well. The first letter failing of its mission—as it most certainly had—he had but to produce a second letter for the inspection of the



young man. This was rather more tender in its sentiments than the first; it also enclosed some money. Burr was moved — his feelings, but not his resolution. Tears flowed. He informed his uncle that he could not now retire from a scheme in which his heart and, as he supposed, his honor was embarked. The messenger departed to meet the uncle, and Burr hastened onward to Quebec.

The troops are now at the mouth of the Kennebec river, and thus far the journey of these brave men has not been an arduous one, but now is about to be commenced a march which, for courage, clear grit, boldness, bravery, patience, suffering, endurance and fortitude, under the most trying, and at times painful circumstances, stands we believe without a parallel in the world's history. A march undertaken without an extensive knowledge of the country through which it led; a march not over good roads nor through a fruitful land; a march the issue of which was involved in more than ordinary doubt; surely a most wonderful march.

Nothing daunted, the brave army make their way northward — now floating in their bateaux upon the Kennebec; now, owing to the rapid currents and falls of the river, leaving the streams, and with their boats and baggage marching on the land, around these rapids; again taking to the river, soon to leave it for the woods and marshes, and so on till the Dead River is reached; up that stream, leaving it to pass up its side, and again gliding in bateaux adown the stream.

Over the mountains they go and down the valleys, then to another stream, and now pushing on and on till the heights are reached — the high lands separating the waters running south into the Atlantic from those running northward into the St. Lawrence — reaching Chaudiere pond; around this, then on and off the Chaudiere River,

mostly off, on, on, through the Canadian country, till finally,—all this time foot-sore, weary, nearly famished with hunger, cold—chilled to the very bone, sometimes not knowing whether life was worth the striving for, and death seeming imminent, through trials, troubles and tribulations many, at last they reach Point Levi on the St. Lawrence, opposite and in sight of Quebec, the object of their long and weary march. Not discouraged, but brave, hopeful and trustful, ready at any time to cross the river, and with their bold commander Arnold at the head, they cross the St. Lawrence and march against the citadel of Quebec, now ascending the path made immortal by the glorious achievement of the gallant Wolfe; now upon the plains of Abraham demanding the surrender of the town; repulsed, but not discouraged, retreating up the river, to Point au Trembles, waiting here, to be joined later by the forces under the command of the brave Montgomery, and jointly with them to suffer defeat—Montgomery dying, Arnold wounded—and of these brave men many killed, others wounded, and some prisoners—this is a synopsis of their march and experiences, and it is so full of thrilling and daring exploits, the best account which can be given is to relate, in the words of those who took part, some of the events of that wonderful march.

Having arrived at the mouth of the Kennebec, the fleet sail up the river to the ship yard of Colonel Colborn, where the vessels were left, and the bateaux provided, with which to ascend the river. The bateaux were built at Agry's point about two miles below what is now Gardiner (then called Pittston) and the residence of Colonel Colborn, and here arrangements were made for the advance through the wilds of Maine, and the Canadian wilderness to Quebec. Arnold's arrangements were as follows: he thought it advisable to send as a vanguard an officer and

seven men — for the purpose of ascertaining and marking the paths which were used by the Indians, at the numerous carrying places in the wilderness, towards the head of the river, and also to ascertain the course of the river Chaudiere.

The officer chosen by Arnold was Archibald Steele, a lieutenant in Matthew Smith's company of riflemen. Arnold allowed him to select his men, and he chose the following: Jesse Wheeler, George Merchant and James Clifton, of Morgan's company of riflemen; Robert Cunningham, Thomas Boyd, John Tidd and John McKonkey of Captain Smith's company of riflemen; John Joseph Henry, also a member of Smith's company, not quite seventeen years of age, and two guides, Jeremiah Getchel and John Horne. They proceeded in two birch-bark canoes, their guides being acquainted with the river, as far as the great carrying place.

The first canoe bore five men, with their arms and baggage, one barrel of pork, one bag of meal, and two hundred weight of biscuit. The other canoe carried seven men, their arms, baggage and provisions.

On Saturday, the 23d day of September, in the evening, they arrive at Fort Halifax, which stands at the junction of the Seabasticook river with the Kennebec river. Hallowell was then the name of the town, now Augusta. From here they travel on and in a few days reach Norridgewock falls. After passing the falls of Norridgewock, they ascend the river rapidly, blazing every carrying place, thus making a route for those who follow. Friday, the 29th of September, they arrive at the great carrying place. The distance across to the Dead river is from twelve to fourteen miles. Reaching this point their guides informed them that they were not acquainted farther — so after this they found their way as best they



night. By journeyings hard, perilous, discouraging and at times well nigh fatal, on Sunday, October 8th, this party reached the height of land, which divides the waters of New England from those of Canada. On that day they reached a lake surrounded by high and craggy mountains. At 3 o'clk, they came to the extreme end of the fifth and last lake and on this lake obtained a full view of those hills, which were then, and are now, called the height of land. They hurry ashore, draw out their canoes, and cover them with leaves and brush-wood. This done, with their arms in their hands and their provisions in their pockets, they make a race across the mountain by an Indian path, easily ascertainable, until they arrive upon the bank of Chaudiere river. This was the end of their desires. To discover and know the course of this river, was the extent of their orders; beyond this, they had nothing to do.

And now, standing at the foot of a high pine, Steele asked if any one could climb a tree. Cunningham offered — climbed the tree, and from the top discerned the course of the river and even gazed upon the Lake Chaudiere, distant fourteen or fifteen miles. Now the party, having accomplished that for which they set out, commenced their return march to meet the on-coming main army. To show some of the hardships encountered by this brave band of pioneers, let there be related one or two of their experiences on their return to the main army. Their provisions nearly out, and they nearly famishing, knowing not what to do: — finally, one of the party shot a small duck. At night gathering around their camp fire, they anxiously discussed the question how this duck and their little pittance of remaining food could be most effectually used to prolong life. They decided to boil the duck in their camp kettle, each man putting in his last bit of pork, and each marking his own by running through it a small wooden

skewer, marked with his own private mark. The broth so made was to be all the supper the poor fellows had, reserving the boiled pork for breakfast, and the duck to be divided and laid by. "My appetite," says Henry, "was as ravenous as a wolf, but the resolution to take no more than the broth was kept." Rising early the next morning each man took his mouthful of pork and breakfast was over. The duck was then separated into ten parts, and divided in the hunter's usual way: — that is, one of the party, turning his back; and then, Steele asked of the man whose back was turned to the fragments, "Whose shall this be?" The man answered, naming one of the party. Henry says his share of the duck was one of the thighs. The day wore away, the men hastening on, the duck was eaten, and the party, tired out, encamped when night came to sleep. Rising next morning they resumed their march with not a morsel of food. Travelling all the weary day they lay down again supperless.

Henry also says that the next day, trying to hurry on, they ran their canoe against a partially sunken tree, which tore open the bark from stem to stern. Delayed some hours for repairs, and utterly exhausted with hunger and fatigue, and the main party some distance ahead,—they began to despair. He says "the thought came that the Almighty had destined us to die of hunger in the wilderness; — the tears fell from my eyes as I thought of my mother and family in their far-off home. But it was not designed that we should thus perish, for soon was heard the sharp crack of the rifle, followed by a shout and a huzza and, pushing forward, we saw, to our great joy, a moose deer struggle from the water, and fall upon the bank. We were saved. The forest shores echoed with our shouts of exultation, as the whole party gathered around their game. Kindling a fire, we feasted."

Another story about Shæffer the drummer is told. He

was very near sighted, and Henry says the laughing stock of the company. In some places where they would cross ravines by stepping from one log to another, poor Shæffer would very often fall, drum and all, between the logs and into the water, much to the amusement of the soldiers; but notwithstanding all this, and sometimes being nearly starved, and at other times almost naked, he bore his drum unharmed by all its jostlings, safely to Quebec, while many others, hale and hearty, died in the wilderness.

Let us now return to Fort Western, and see what has happened to the main army. By the 25th of September, the troops had all reached the fort, and here Arnold decides that the troops shall march in four divisions, and Monday, the 25th, the first division, consisting of the three companies of riflemen, starts for Quebec; the next day Colonel Green, with three companies of musketmen, sets out for the North; and the following day, Wednesday, Meigs, with the third division of the army, consisting of four companies of musketmen, marches forward, and after him Colonel Enos with three companies of musketmen comprising the fourth division, start along upon their journey, bringing up the rear. Each of the four divisions took with them forty-five days' provisions. After seeing them depart,—the last boat upon the river,—Arnold steps into his bark canoe and paddled by Indians shoots rapidly ahead of the rear division.

The route is to the third carrying place up the Kennebec, first to Fort Halifax at the junction of the Sebasticook with the Kennebec; here they found two block houses, and a large barrack enclosed with a picket fort. After leaving this place the men had to wade in the water sometimes up to their chins, which of course was very uncomfortable to say the least, and so they work their way



along sometimes in their bateaux, now upon the land, and again wading in the water. Soon they reach Skowhegan falls; here of course they have to leave the river and take to the land. The troops still journey on, and now the falls of Norridgewock are reached. Meigs, in his journal says: "at 7 o'clk. on the evening of Octr. 3d, a little below Norridgewalk my battoe filled with water. Here I lost my kettle, butter and sugar; a loss [he says] not to be replaced here." The time has now arrived when the army will leave behind them the abode of man, and enter the uninhabited wilderness. Col. Arnold comes to us and encamps with the men. And now they push up the river, leaving it many times to pass over the several carrying places, until the Great Carrying place is reached. This Great Carrying place is about fifteen miles across from the Kennebec river to the Dead river; there are on the way three ponds which the troops in their march have to cross. On their way there are four carrying places. To the first pond three and three-fourths miles — then the pond one-fourth of a mile wide — second carrying place one mile, second pond one-quarter of a mile wide — third carrying place one mile — then the last pond four miles wide, and then over land four miles to the Dead river.

By the 15th of October many of the troops had reached the Dead river. From here Arnold despatches a messenger to parties he knew in Quebec to ascertain what he might concerning the movements there.

The troops find the ascent of the Dead river very difficult; there are a great many falls and carrying places. On the 24th of October Thayer says, "We had intelligence of its being 25 miles to the Great Carrying place where the height of land is, and in the mean time destitute of provisions, for the two barrels of flour brought gave 2 lbs. to each man, and we only had a half pint left to deliver

out ; besides the continual snow aggravated us more, and left us in a situation not to be desired." Now many of the men are taken sick. Is it any wonder, when we realize what they have been through? The river is very narrow, and the walking upon the land is exceedingly bad. The men are becoming disheartened and many desire to return.

Affairs are now looking dubious. A council of war is held. These are the men who compose it : Colonel Green, Captains Topham and Thayer, and Colonel Enos. It was held at the request of Colonel Enos. Enos desires to give up and go back, to decide the march a failure, but the council decided against him. They resolved that Enos should not go back ; should not return ; but must go forward with them. It was decided that it would be wrong to give up now ; that they must and would go forward at whatever cost. Does one realize what brave men they were, what remarkable courage they displayed in this?

Enos' party, who were six in number, regretted exceedingly this action taken by their comrades. So they hold another council, this time among themselves, and Captains McCobb, Williams and Scott, declared they would return, and not rush into imminent danger. Captain Thayer says : — "Capt. Williams stepped towards me and wished me success, but told me he never expected to see me or any of us again alive — he was so conscious of the imminent danger we were to go through. Col. Enos also advanced and, with tears in his eyes, wished me and mine success, and took as he then supposed his last farewell of me."

Just imagine the parting in the wilderness between these brave men,—pathetic it must have been,—brave indeed had they been, those who now return ; braver they who, foreseeing what may be their fate, resolve that they will not turn back but will go forward, let what will happen. Enos

and his men now commence their return march. They took with them, among other things, provisions part of which ought to have been given to the men on the advance. This was a great blow to the troops composing the other divisions, and they felt it keenly, and were severe in their denunciation of Enos. Colonel Arnold, who was in advance, did not hear of the trouble caused by Enos for some time, and when he did learn of it was greatly incensed. Enos went back without any order from his superior officer, Colonel Arnold. Arnold's design was, that only the sick in the various divisions should return. Enos finally reached Cambridge, where he was tried by court martial, but was acquitted.

The troops that are left now continue their march up the Dead River. As they move along the river, very often they are obliged to leave the same on account of the many falls; but, still nothing daunted, they press on and on.

Colonel Arnold now, with a small party, pushes ahead of the main army, on, to the Chaudiere lake, and then down the river or by it to the French settlements, in the hope of finding food. Under date of Oct. 27, 1775, he writes to Colonels Green, Enos and the captains, "I shall proceed with what men I have as fast as possible to the inhabitants, and endeavor to procure and send back provisions. Please make all possible dispatch."

The army as they advance soon find the rain has changed to snow, and ice has formed upon the water. It is now with great difficulty that they proceed upon their way. Soon, however, they reach the high lands which separate the waters of New England from the waters of Canada. This was on October 27. By October 30, the whole body of troops had reached the Chaudiere pond or lake. They are now in a very bad condition and in great need



of food. At this place Jakins, the man whom Arnold had previously dispatched, returned, and informed him that the French inhabitants were rejoiced to hear of his coming and would gladly furnish his men with provisions.

Arnold, at this time, writes to Washington and informs him that "the march thus far has been attended with an amazing deal of fatigue, which the officers and men have borne with cheerfulness." He says, "I have been much deceived in every account of our route, which is longer, and has been attended with a thousand difficulties I never apprehended; but, if crowned with success, and conducive to the public good, I shall think it trifling."

Arnold is now desirous of sending a message to General Montgomery at Montreal, and to whom does he intrust the message? Why, to none other than Aaron Burr, the young volunteer.

Montgomery was one hundred and twenty miles away and Burr alone was to seek him and deliver to him the message of Arnold. This message was of great importance as it divulged the future plans of Arnold. Arnold showed great confidence in the ability of young Burr by sending him, as he was about to do, across the country and on such a critical mission. In performing this duty Burr first gave proof of his tact and address. He knew that the French people had never become reconciled to British rule; he also knew that the Catholic clergy specially abhorred it. Therefore, with this knowledge what does he do? Why, he assumes the garb and bearing of a young priest and goes directly to a religious house near the camp and seeks an interview with its chief. He knows Latin and French, and consequently finds no difficulty in conversing fluently with the venerable priest. Burr soon perceives that this old man is just the person he has need of, and feeling safe in so doing, he avows his

real character, and asks, through him, aid from the clerical order in the prosecution of his work.

But what saith this ancient servant of God? After gazing in astonishment at the young man, he replies: "You are but a boy! It is impossible for you, for one of your tender years to perform such a journey as you describe. It will be a long journey! It will be beset with great danger." Did Burr answer by saying, "you are quite right, venerable father?" Oh, no! Burr did say, "I am going forward to meet General Montgomery. I shall not return to Colonel Arnold." The priest, finding him determined to go forward, furnished him with a trusty guide, and one of the rude carriages of the country. From one religious family to another the guide conveyed him with perfect safety, and with such comfort as made the journey seem a holiday excursion compared with the recent severe march through the wilderness. All went merry as a marriage bell; they had a fine time until they arrived at Three Rivers. Here they were interrupted; for rumors of Arnold's arrival had been reported, and the authorities were on the lookout to prevent communication between the two armies. Burr was concealed three days in a convent at Three Rivers, after which he and his guide proceeded, reaching Montreal without further interruption. Burr immediately went to Montgomery's headquarters, gave the information with which he was charged, and narrated his adventures. Montgomery received him with great favor; he was charmed and delighted with him. He showed his appreciation by making him his aid-de-camp with the rank of captain.

Turn now to Arnold and his army. Arnold has been moving ahead of his men searching for food, which he has found, and sends the same back to his army, who receive it, as well they may, with great joy. Now the

journey is made, most of the time, upon the sides of the Chandiere river, it being impossible to remain long upon the river, owing to the rapids. Many of the bateaux were destroyed soon after being placed upon the stream. But on they go, and soon arrive at a French house, and receive hospitality there. It is the first house seen for many days. Here they were well supplied with fresh beef, fowls, butter and vegetables. This place is Sartigan. Here at Sartigan, while the soldiers were arriving, a body of Indians, occupying as their hunting grounds a part of the territory over which Arnold had marched, waited upon him, and with all the formality and dignity which characterize an Indian council, demanded the cause of his entering upon their territory. Arnold made a formal reply to them, and among other things he said, "I feel myself happy in meeting with so many of my brethren from the different quarters of the great country. Brethren, we are the children of those people who have now taken up the hatchet against us. More than this,—one hundred years ago we were all as one family. Our fathers bought land of your fathers, and have grown a great people. We have planted the ground, and by our labor grown rich. Now a new king and his wicked great men want to take our land and money without our consent;" and so he goes on, finally telling them why he is here; and asking help of them. With offers of money and provisions, he finally succeeds in persuading fifty of their warriors to join his army, and they served him faithfully.

From here on to Point Levi, all through the Canadian country, Arnold caused to be distributed a manifesto from Washington to the Canadians, which had been prepared, translated into French, and printed before the departure from Cambridge.



From Sartigan the army straggled along, in any way they see fit, over snow and ice, and without any regard to companies or divisions. A hard, rough journey until, finally, by the 10th of November, the whole of the army who had survived the perilous march through the wilderness, reach Point Levi, opposite and in sight of Quebec, the object of their weary and toilsome march.

Arnold remained here at Point Levi nearly a week, and the first matter that demanded his attention was, how he should get his men across the St. Lawrence and attack Quebec; for the English, having been informed of his near approach, had burned all the boats upon the Point Levi side of the river so as to impede his progress. But Arnold, with his accustomed skill and tact, immediately sent out into the country round about, and with the help of his Indian allies, succeeded in collecting quite a number of canoes. Now he must be on the alert and watch his opportunity to cross the river, as there were a number of armed vessels on the river between Point Levi and Quebec. Here he showed great skill and judgment. How many men are there that, in the face of such obstacles, would have thought of crossing the river under such circumstances? He watched his time, and on the evening of Monday, November 13, everything being in readiness for embarkation, at nine o'clock, it being quite dark, the first division set off, and passing between the Hunter, an armed vessel of fourteen guns, and Quebec, landed safely on the Quebec side of the river.

The boats are immediately sent back, and continue to pass and repass over the river until all are over, with the exception of a few soldiers left on guard at Point Levi. The troops land in Wolfe's Cove, so called, and ascend the heights over the same route taken by the gallant Wolfe in 1759. Having reached the plains of Abraham,

the next day, Tuesday, in the morning, proper guards are placed on the different roads, so as to cut off the communication between city and country. During the day the main body march upon the heights near the city, and give three loud huzzas. In the evening Arnold sends a flag to the town with a demand of the garrison in the name and behalf of the United Colonies. As the flag approached the walls, the color bearer was fired upon, contrary to all rules or customs upon such occasions.

The troops remain here on the heights of Abraham about a week, and here was the first blood-shed before Quebec. It was in this way. Sergeant Dixon of Captain Smith's rifle company received a cannon shot in one of his legs. He was removed to the house of an English gentleman, where amputation took place, and he soon after died, and was buried upon the heights. An incident connected with this shooting is interesting, showing as it does a strong sentiment, which the prospect of death did not quench. The lady of the house where Dixon was carried, though not approving of the principles or doings of the Americans, was nevertheless very attentive to Dixon, and presented him with a cup of tea, which he declined, saying: "No, madam, I cannot take it! It is the ruin of my country." Uttering this noble sentiment, he quietly and peacefully passed to his rest.

Soon the order is given to strike their tents and decamp from the plains, and early on the morning of Nov. 19th, the army march up the river and soon after encamp at a place called Point au Trembles, about seven leagues from Quebec.

Thus far we have been taken along in imagination with this army, and they have reached the very gates of Quebec, and then departed therefrom, — but of course we cannot leave them, without narrating how they remained

at their encampment upon the river for a while, until joined by the brave Montgomery and his army from Montreal ; how together they afterwards moved to attack Quebec ; how they laid siege to the city ; how, on that stormy morning of the last day of the year 1775, they made an attack upon Quebec ; how the brave and fearless Montgomery was killed ; how the impetuous and brave Arnold was wounded, and many brave officers and men were killed, and others, some wounded, and some prisoners ; how, what was hoped might be a victory, was turned into defeat ; all this happened, and more — the half of which has not been, and cannot here be told.

We were defeated ! What would have been the future of the country which was to be, and of the man Benedict Arnold ? yes, what of the man Benedict Arnold, if, instead of defeat, victory had perched upon our banners, and as a result Quebec had fallen into our hands ?



## LIST OF VESSELS

EMPLOYED IN FOREIGN TRADE, BELONGING TO THE  
DISTRICT OF SALEM AND BEVERLY, IN 1826.

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### SHIPS

NAMES	TONS	WHEN BUILT	WHERE BUILT	OWNER'S NAMES
Acasta	286	1821	Salem	James & H. Devereux
Argonaut	306	1811	Medford	Willard Peele & Co.
America	331	1804	Salem	Benj. W. Crowninshield
Augustus	246	1805	do	Joseph Peabody
Bengal	304	1816	Salem	Pickering Dodge
Two Brothers	288	1816	do	John & Thos. H. Forrester
Black Warrior	231	1825	Duxbury	N. L. Rogers & Brothers
China	370	1817	Salem	Joseph Peabody
Ceres	373	1811	Boston	John Gardner & Sons
Caroline	321	1815	Newbury	Joseph Ropes, J. W. Chever
Catharine	315	1818	Salem	Jos. & J. A. Peabody
Canton Packet	310			John Winn, Jun. & others
Caroline	240	1812	Wiscasset	Stephen White
Delphos				Nath. Silsbee & Company
Eliza	262	1817	Salem	Stephen Phillips
Endeavour	234	1803	do	Nath. Silsbee & Co.
Emerald	271	1823	do	John & Thos. H. Forrester
Friendship	366	1815	Portland	George Nichols & Co.
Francis	297	1807	Salem	Joseph Peabody
Factor	333	1822	Portsmouth	W. Haskell, I. Andrew, I D
Glide	306	1811	Salem	Joseph Peabody
George	328	1815	do	do
Hope	282	1805	Salem	J. & J. Barr
Hercules	290	1805	Haverhill	N. West & N. West, Jun.

Janus	277	1804	Salem	Gideon Tucker
Messenger	277	1805	Salem	John & Thos. H. Forrester
Malabar	355	1815	Scituate	Josiah Safford
Minerva	223	1808	Duxbury	Samuel Rea & others
Nile	400	1825	New Market	John Dike & others
Packet	340			Pickering Dodge
Perseverance	241	1809	Salem	Willard Peele
Restitution	247	1803	Haverhill	John & Thos. H. Forrester
Shamrock	260	1810	New Castle	Josiah Safford
Suffolk	315	1816	Pembroke	Pickering Dodge
William				Stephen White
Zephyr	361	1815	Middleton	George Cleveland and William Cleveland

## BARQUES.

NAMES	TONS	WHEN BUILT	WHERE BUILT	OWNER'S NAMES
Derby	230	1825	Salem	Stephen C. Phillips
Eliza	240	1823	do	Joseph & Stephen White
Gen. Stark	230	1811	Newbury	do do
Patriot	265	1809	Danvers	J. H. Andrews & S.C. Phillips
Peru	210	1823	Salem	Stephen & S. C. Phillips

## BRIGS

NAMES	TONS	WHEN BUILT	WHERE BUILT	OWNER'S NAMES
Augusta	127	1800	Duxbury	Gideon Tucker
Acorn	146	1810	Ipswich	Joseph Peabody
Ann	204	1815	Pembroke	H. Prince & H. Prince, Jr.
Ann	188	1817	Danvers	Putnam & Chever
Alfred	158	1822	Rochester	Joseph Howard, J. Brown
Amazon	202	1824	Salem	Joseph & J. A. Peabody
Argo	140	1817	do	Wm. B. Parker
Andes	200	1825	Essex	Joseph Howard & others
Banian	216	1819	Rochester	Jonathan Neal
Buck	217	1822	Bucksport	John Barr
Calliope	191	1822	Waldeboro'	Robert Upton
Centurion	205	1822	Haverhill	Nath. West, Jun.

Ceres	200		British	Gamaliel Hodges
Cambrian	196	1818	Salem	Joseph Peabody
Charles Amburger	184	1818	British	John Andrew
Cynthia	128	1793	Salem	D. & I. P. Pingree
Cygnnet	215	1822	do	Stephen White
Camel	117		British	Daniel Abbot
Despatch Packet	135	1815	Bath	Robert Upton
Dawn	163	1806	Salem	Joseph Peabody
Elizabeth	171	1807	Haverhill	Wm. Fettyplace & S. White
Edward	172	1815	Danvers	Thomas Whittredge
Effort	271	1823	Salem	Benjamin Hawkes
Export	270	1824	British	John Dike
Echo	99	1819	New Bedford	Robert Upton
Franklin	251	1817	Haverhill	Wm. Fettyplace & others
Fenelon	115	1815	Rochester	Samuel Chamberlain
Fawn	168	1816	Quincy	Robert Brookhouse
Four Sisters	114	1816	Newburyport	Stephen White & others
Governor Endicott	297	1819	Salem	Pickering Dodge
Governor Winslow	148	1817	Plymouth	Joseph J. Knapp
Homer	208	1819	Salem	Josiah Lovett & Co.
Herald	241	1822	do	John H. Andrews & J. Page
Henry	262	1823	Bradford	Thomas & Henry Whittredge
Indus	263	1818	Haverhill	Pickering Dodge
Java	225	1820	Salem	Jonathan Neal & Sons
Jeremiah	167	1803	Danvers	Samuel Endicott
Jason	137	1821	Jonesboro'	Joseph Peabody
Laura	201	1819	Salem	John Derby & J. Holman
Lion	208	1818	City Point	John Dike & J. P. Felt
Laurel	250	1818	Dover	R. Brookhouse & others
Leander	223	1821	Salem	Joseph Peabody
Lama	144	1825	Rochester	Gideon Barstow
Malay	268	1818	Salem	Nath. Silsbee & Co.
Mercator	176	1815	Bowdoinham	John Andrew
Mexican	230	1824	Salem	Joseph Peabody
Mermaid	124	1805	Duxbury	Daniel Abbot
Mariner	204	1824	Eden	Charles Parker
Monroe	192	1817	Westbrook	Josiah Gould
Midas	211	1820	Falmouth	Stephen W. Shepard
Montecello	140	1826	Essex	— Harvey



Nereus	181	1818	Haverhill	Nath. L. Rogers & Brothers
Nautilus	252	1812	Newbury	John Frost
Niagara	246	1816	Mount Desert	Joseph Peabody
Nestor	236	1822	Salem	William Leech
Neptune	290	1825	Bath	Robert Upton
Orient	194	1804	Haverhill	B. Hawkes & W. B. Parker
Otter	238	1808	Newbury	James Devereux & Co.
Osprey	227	1805	Milton	do
Osgood	345	1818	Portland	John Gardner
Olinda	178	1825	Salem	Gideon Tucker
Ontario	222	1815	Plymouth	John Andrew
Pactolus	175	1825	Eden	Charles Parker
Padang	175	1821	Rochester	Gideon Barstow & others
President	141	1807	Deer Isle	John Pinder
Pioneer	200	1822	Bradford	Nath. L. Rogers & Brothers
Phœbe	104	1815	Salisbury	Robert Upton & B. Upton
Phœnix	248	1816	Newbury	Moses Townsend
Persia	254	1822	Salem	Nath. Silsbee & Co.
Plant	208			John Winn, Jun., & others
Roscoe	235	1821	Salem	Wm. P. Richardson & others
Reaper	229	1820	Amesbury	Robert Brookhouse
Rambler	147	1816	Kennebunk	William Fabens
Rebecca	178	1803	Danvers	John H. Andrews
Rajah	249	1818	Newbury	Josiah Lovett & others
Roque	206	1816	Jonesboro'	Joseph Peabody
Rotund	146	1810	Bowdoinham	Benjamin Fabens
Richmond Packet	150	1825	Salem	William Fabens, Jun.
Romp	127	1820	Amesbury	Joseph Noble
Standard	228	1810	Plymouth	James & Samuel Cook
Stork	141	1797	Salisbury	Joseph Howard, J. Brown
Sally Baker	141	1809	Duxbury	Hervey Choate
Sicily	163	1820	Medford	Gideon Tucker
Shawmutt	150	1821	Thomaston	Stephen White
Siren	175	1816	Durham	R. Brookhouse & others
State of Maine	227			Nath. West, Jun.
Susan	140	1824	Brunswick	Robert Brookhouse & others
Scion	150	1825	Salem	N. Weston
Triton	177	1815	Danvers	Nath. West, Jun.
Texel	275	1819	Salem	
Thetis	182	1820	Bradford	John Andrew

Union	129	1816	Maine	John H. Andrews
Washington	150	1810	Salisbury	Putnam & Chever
Washington	236	1823	Salem	B. Shreve & J. Frost
Washington	166	1804	Salisbury	Stephen White & others
William	200	1815	Duxbury	Samuel Haskell
Victory	152	1818	Saybrook	Michael Shepard

## SCHOONERS

NAMES	TONS	WHEN BUILT	WHERE BUILT	OWNER'S NAMES
Alexander	103	1817	Newburyport	William E. Hacker
Ann	51	1818	Beverly	George Whittredge
Agenora	61	1824	Essex	Joseph Howard & others
Agawam	91	1813	Newbury	Josiah Raymond
Bunker Hill	127	1825	Northport	William Treadwell
Catharine	59	1820	Nobleboro	Stephen Nourse
Cepheus	78	1824	Essex	Joseph Howard
Dollar	99	1820	Hingham	David Pingree
Dove	63	1790	Haverhill	George Whittredge
Dreadnot	50	1819	Dorchester	N. Safford
Essex	114	1802	Salem	William Fabens
Fanny	105		British	John Andrew
Four Sisters	127	1806	Freeport	N. Safford
First Attempt	52	1822	Waldeboro'	Richard Savary
Greyhound	83	1786	Duxbury	John C. Very
General Warren	84	1803	Newbury	Joseph Perkins
General Brooks	104	1816	Amesbury	Samuel Chamberlain
Hazard	122	1817	Salem	Isaac Cushing, Jun.
Hunter	127	1817	Jonesboro'	Joseph Peabody
Halcyon	76	1806	Amesbury	Stephen Nourse
Joseph & Mary	105		Maine	John Winn, Jun.
Leader	163	1821	Eden	Charles Parker
Mechanick	103	1819	Haverhill	James Hill
Merrimack Packet	86	1812	do	Samuel Symonds
Only Daughter	121	1823	Eden	Nath. Weston

Pettrel	75	1815	Bradford	William Leech
Plato	125	1816	Salem	Isaac Cushing, Jun.
Ranger	107	1806	Bristol	I. Fettyplace & others
Spy (three masted)	91	1823	Essex	Nath. L. Rogers & Brothers
Speedwell	98	1811	Cohasset	J. Odell, Jos. Sprague
Superior	131	1811	Bowdoinham	Alden & Ames
Sally	176	1816	Alma	Putnam & Chever
Two Sisters	72	1818	Haverhill	Josiah Foster
Tryon	94	1824	Eden	John Brooks
Union	101	1803	Amesbury	John Pinder
Union	84	1803	Salisbury	John Dexter
Virginia	137	1817	Bradford	Nath. L. Rogers & Brothers
Velocity	120			
Woolwich	86	1819	Woolwich	Sam'l B. Graves
William & Naney	128	1815	Cushing	Francis Quarles

EDITORIAL NOTE.—This list is substantially correct and gives a perfectly fair view of the extent of the commercial interests of Salem, in 1826. The names of the principal owners are given, but a good many other well-known names might be added from the Custom House books, were all the part owners included.





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